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## EDITORIAL

ONE OF THE MOST REMARKABLE EARLY SUCCESSES OF THE SWISS Brethren movement was in St. Gall, Switzerland, not far from the birthplace of the movement in Zurich. Yet strange to say, in spite of its early success there, no permanent, living congregation of the Brethren seems to have been established. However, the Swiss Brethren movement experienced such fortunes in many places in addition to St. Gall, although St. Gall is of unique interest in this respect because it was the first strong early success of the movement outside of the Canton of Zurich. John Horsch continues his thorough studies in the early history of the Swiss Brethren by presenting in this issue of the REVIEW an account of the history of the Swiss Brethren in St. Gall.

TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY YEARS AGO, IN OCTOBER, 1683, THE first permanent settlement of Mennonites was begun in America at Germantown, near Philadelphia. The REVIEW had hoped to present an anniversary issue devoting an entire number to the early history of the Mennonites in America. In place of such an entire issue, readers are presented with a one-article account of the founding of the Mennonite congregation in Germantown by the Editor. The two chief aims of the article are, first, to analyze the composition of the membership of the Germantown congregation during its first twenty-five years, showing the locality of origin of the individual families as far as possible together with the reasons for their emigration to America and the approximate order of events leading to their coming, and, second, to trace the development of

the ecclesiastical organization of the group. Within the limits of one brief article, it is impossible to devote any attention to the civil history of the Germantown community, or even to the religious life of the Mennonite group, however valuable such a study would have been. Others, notably Pennypacker, Learned, Seidensticker, and Smith have treated these aspects of the history of Germantown rather thoroughly. The contribution of the present study is to bring out in clearer relief the composition of the membership and the development of the church organization.

ATTENDANCE AT AMERICAN SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES IN GENERAL has held up surprisingly well during the depression years, but Mennonite schools and colleges have apparently not been faring so well this past year, according to the valuable annual statistical summary of attendance at Mennonite schools and colleges which is presented this year again for the fourth time by Dr. Hertzler. A noticeable drop in college enrollment during the past year is registered, and two institutions were practically forced to suspend college operations altogether. Private advices indicate that a further decrease is to be expected when the final figures for the current year become available. Apparently a major crisis will face American Mennonite colleges if the depression continues much longer.

# THE SWISS BRETHREN IN ST. GALL AND APPENZELL

John Horsch

The city of St. Gall, with a population of about 5,000, was, like the various cantons of Switzerland, ruled by a council or senate. The city had three churches. The large St. Laurentius Church was the parish church. The other two churches were under the jurisdiction of the prince-abbot of the famous cloister of St. Gall. The territory ruled by the prince-abbot surrounded the city. This district was, in the course of the reformation movement, incorporated into the territory of the city.

The conditions under which the Swiss Brethren movement originated and developed in the city of St. Gall differed widely from conditions prevailing in Zurich and other Swiss cantons. In St. Gall the movement was tolerated by the civil authorities, and therefore from the beginning it made rapid progress. The Council of the city, including Dr. Joachim von Watt, called Vadian, the most distinguished and influential citizen, somewhat later burgomaster of St. Gall, saw no reason for opposing the movement. In fact, in this early period Vadian agreed with the Brethren in their disapproval of infant baptism, implying the rejection of state churchism.

The actual beginning of the reformation movement in St. Gall dates from the time of a visit of Dr. Balthasar Hubmaier in the city in the spring of 1523, when the first religious meetings outside of the Roman Catholic church buildings were held in St. Gall. Hubmaier later became an outstanding Anabaptist leader. The movement for Bible study which had been launched, with Zwingli's approval, at Zurich, and which later developed into the Anabaptist movement, reached St. Gall toward the end of the year 1523. In consequence a number of interested citizens of St. Gall asked Johannes Kessler, a well-educated layman, to hold Bible meetings for the evangelically inclined portion of the population. The first meeting of this kind, led by Kessler, was held on New Year's day, 1524. Zwingli, in a letter to Vadian expressed satisfaction over these developments in St. Gall.[1]

1. *Zwingli's Werke, VIII,* p. 153; *Sabbata,* p. *XI.*

From Zurich and St. Gall the movement for Bible study spread to other parts of Switzerland and to South Germany. A considerable number of "readers", men who read and expounded the Scriptures to interested groups of people, labored in various cantons and provinces. As already stated, this movement later developed into the Anabaptist movement. In St. Gall those who regularly attended these meetings called each other brothers and were commonly known as the Brethren, as is clear from Kessler's chronicle.[2] This was in plain fact the origin of the name "Swiss Brethren". In these Bible meetings any one had the liberty to ask questions or to correct the reader from the Scripture.

The Bible meetings led by Johannes Kessler were held in the home of Beda Miles (who afterwards united with the Swiss Brethren) until quarters here proved inadequate. Kessler expounded the first epistle of John, and, after completing this book, the epistle to the Romans. In one of these meetings when Kessler, speaking on Romans, chapter 6, referred to infant baptism approvingly, one of his hearers, Laurence Hochruetiner, expressed the contrary opinion, questioning the scripturalness of infant baptism. Hochruetiner was born and brought up in St. Gall, but had for some time lived at Zurich. He had been a prominent attendant of the Bible meetings led by the "reader" Andrew Castelberger in Zurich. Hochruetiner, together with Nicolaus Hottinger, in September, 1523, had removed a wooden crucifix at Stadelhofen near Zurich, after Zwingli had taught and preached against the "idols", or images. Contrary to Zwingli's advice both of these men were imprisoned and subsequently banished by the Council of Zurich, because they had acted without authorization. Banished from Zurich, Hochruetiner returned to his native city of St. Gall. At the time of his departure from Zurich both Ulrich Zwingli and Conrad Grebel wrote letters to Vadian explaining that Hochruetiner had done nothing deserving punishment, and giving him warm recommendations. Zwingli, in his letter to Vadian, said regarding him: "I beg of you to protect him, a man good and innocent before God. Whatever you may do for him, consider it as done for Zwingli."[3]

As indicated above, Hochruetiner questioned infant baptism in a meeting led by the "reader" Johannes Kessler. However, this was not the first expression of opposition to infant baptism

2. Kessler, *Sabbata*, 1902, p. 144 f.

3. *Vadianische Briefsammlung*, III, p. 44; Jackson, *Huldreich Zwingli*, p. 207.

at St. Gall. In July, 1523, Benedict Burgauer, the head priest of St. Laurentius Church, in a letter to Conrad Grebel, complained that some had asserted in his hearing that "infants who do not have personal faith should not be baptized." This was before Kessler began his Bible meetings. The Swiss federal government objected to Kessler's "preaching", and the Council of St. Gall therefore, in October 1524, asked him to cease "reading". He complied with this request. Shortly before Kessler retired Conrad Grebel wrote a lengthy letter "to the brethren" (to use Kessler's own words) on the question of infant baptism. Later Kessler became a leader in the Zwinglian state church and wrote an important chronicle entitled *Sabbata.*

The friends of these Bible meetings in St. Gall then asked Wolfgang Schorant, called Ulimann, to read for them. He did so, and the interest manifested by the people in general increased continuously. The meetings were held in the guild hall of the weavers which was probably the largest hall in the city. Ulimann was of a prominent St. Gall family. His father was the chairman of the numerically very strong weavers' guild. Wolfgang had been a monk in the famous cloister of St. Lucius, near Chur in the Swiss canton of Graubünden, in which George Blaurock also had been a monk at the same time.

The first congregation of the Swiss Brethren had meanwhile been organized in Zurich, in January, 1525. In February of the same year Ulimann met Conrad Grebel at Schaffhausen and was baptized by him. After he had thus formally united with the Swiss Brethren, Ulimann's Bible readings in St. Gall fell into disfavor with those who desired the establishment of a Protestant state church. A number of prominent citizens approached Ulimann on March 18, 1525, and suggested that he, with the consent of the Council, give his Bible readings henceforth in St. Laurentius church. The reason back of this request is obvious. The Council of St. Gall had appointed a commission of four men for supervising all preaching and teaching in St. Laurentius church, and thus preventing all teaching at variance with Zwinglianism. In this church Ulimann would not have had the liberty to speak his convictions and teach the doctrine of the Brethren. He therefore gave a declining reply. Besides, the "idols", or images, which were adored by Roman Catholics, were still in the church, and the mass was daily observed in it. These things were offensive to persons of evangelical convictions. Luther, also, had referred to a certain church in Wittenberg, in which mass was said, as a *beth-*

*aven* (idol house)[4], and Johannes Kessler, at an earlier date[5], had spoken of the Romanists, who disapproved of his Bible meetings, as *Goetzendiener* (idolaters).

About March 25, 1525, Conrad Grebel came to St. Gall and remained until after April 9. He preached in the guild house of the weavers and baptized a considerable number. Another leader of the Brethren, Eberli Bolt, of Lachen in the territory of Appenzell, came soon after Grebel's departure. Johannes Kessler, in his chronicle, speaks of Bolt as a good-hearted, pious man, very eloquent and well versed in Scripture. On Easter and during the week following, Bolt preached in the open to large audiences from the town and surrounding regions. Many united with the Brethren through baptism. Kessler records that many were baptized in dwelling houses, others in the Sitter, a small stream near the town.

The Council of St. Gall placed no obstacles in the way of these activities and developments. Among the Councillors, so Vadian states, there were some "who were not displeased with all that the Anabaptists undertook to do."[6]

However, it was finally agreed by a majority vote of the Council that, without resorting to the use of force, an attempt should be made to induce Eberli Bolt to leave the city. On Friday after Easter the Council decided that he should be invited to the burgomaster's house, "who should ask him to leave the territory of St. Gall." Bolt complied with this request and left the city. Shortly afterwards he was seized by the authorities of the Catholic canton Schwyz and was burned at the stake in the town of Schwyz, on May 29, 1525, the first martyr of the Swiss Brethren.[7] "He was very constant, patient and valiant to the end and died gladly, calling upon the name of the Lord Jesus," says Heinrich Bullinger who was unaware that Bolt was an Anabaptist.[8] Bolt's martyrdom took place more than 18 months before that of Felix Manz whom many writers hold to be the first martyr of the Swiss Brethren. The second martyr was Johannes Kruesi who was burned at the stake in Lucerne on July 27, 1525.[9]

Wolfgang Ulimann continued the work at St. Gall which

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4. *Luthers Werke*, Weimar, XXVIII, p. 138 f.
5. *Sabbata*, p. 108.
6. Vadian, *Deutsche historische Schriften*, II, p. 405.
7. *Sabbata*, 1909, p. 146 f.; Bullinger, *Ref. Gesch.*, I, p. 289.
8. *Ref. Gesch.*
9. *Sabbata*, p. 147; Vadian, *Deutsche historische Schriften*, III, p. 203.

was begun by Grebel and Bolt. He preached regularly to great throngs in the open just outside one of the gates of the city. His message was well rceived by the people in general.

An effective indirect cause for the rapid spread of the Swiss Brethren Church was undoubtedly the indefensible position held by the Zwinglian leaders of St. Gall, as well as by a majority of the Council of the city in matters of practical church reformation. On April 4, 1524, the Council of St. Gall had ordered the priests to preach only what could be substantiated by Scripture. The meaning of this order was that they should preach Zwinglian doctrine. However, Zwinglian practice, such as the abolition of the mass and the observance of the communion except after the Roman Catholic rite, was yet forbidden by the Council.

Until the summer of 1525 the priests of St. Gall were compelled to say mass,[10] though mass was believed to be sin and blasphemy.[11] This was evidently a weighty reason why those who were seriously interested in religion felt themselves drawn to the Brethren. The supposed esteem in which the priests—the spiritual advisers of the people—were held was clearly not enhanced by their willingness, for reasons of expediency and convenience, to do that which they believed and proclaimed to be an abomination. At a later date, after the Council permitted the priests to omit the mass, Wolfgang Wetter, one of the priests of the city, sharply criticized the practice of observing the mass and denouncing it at the same time.[12] While since the summer of 1525, the priests were permitted to omit the mass, it was not definitely abolished until some time in 1528.

Through the rise of the Swiss Brethren movement, says Johannes Kessler, the population of St. Gall was divided into three parties, "namely papists, Christians, and Anabaptists." He refers to the party taking the Zwinglian attitude as the Christians, despite the fact that as concerns actual practice the Zwinglians of St. Gall were yet Roman Catholic. The mass, to which he refers as blasphemy, was still observed by them as well as the communion after the Roman Catholic rite. The first Zwinglian communion service in St. Gall was held in St. Laurentius' church on April 10, 1527, or two years after the Swiss Brethren had begun the ob-

10. The first reliable indication that the priests of St. Gall were no longer under obligation to say mass is found in a letter dated September 1, 1525. Compare Egli, *St. Galler Täufer*, p. 50.

11. *Sabbata*, pp. 204, 207.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 204.

servance of the Christian ordinances in the city. Previous to this date the friends of the state church type of Protestantism had not had opportunity to participate in a communion service except after the Roman Catholic rite. These things were factors in preparing the people for an uncompromisingly evangelical message, such as the Brethren had to offer. Small wonder that, as Vadian states, "none were more susceptible to the doctrine of the Anabaptists than those who were inclined to piety and uprightness of life."[13]

Through the labors of Wolfgang Ulimann, Kessler says further, "the Christian congregation, worshiping in St. Laurentius' church, decreased daily, and those who withdrew united with the Anabaptists."[14] And again Kessler says, "Many believed that [among the three religious parties of St. Gall] the doctrine of the Anabaptists alone was right and in agreement with divine truth."[15] A short time later, when Zwingli's *Book on Baptism* was publicly read in St. Laurentius Church, the majority of the audience, according to Kessler's testimony, believed "that the truth of God was on the side of the Anabaptists."[16] Evidently the conviction was widely prevalent in St. Gall that the general religious attitude of the state church was one of compromise. On the other hand, there is striking evidence that the Brethren took their Christian profession seriously; they earnestly strove for holiness of life. Concerning their walk and life Johannes Kessler says, "Their walk and manner of life was altogether pious, holy and irreproachable. They avoided costly clothing, despised costly food, clothed themselves in plain apparel, wore broad-rimmed hats; their walk and conversation was quite humble. [Contrary to the common usage] they carried no weapons, no sword or other weapon, nothing more than a pointless bread knife, saying that these things belonged to the wolf's nature and should not be found on the sheep. They would never swear an oath, not even upon demand of the government. And if any one transgressed, he was excluded by them."[17]

Another chronicler of St. Gall states that "their walk and life was quite humble, pious and holy."[18] Emil Egli, a prominent historian of the Swiss Protestant (Zwinglian) church, says, "The

13. Vadian, *Deutsche historische Schriften*, III, p. 408.
14. *Sabbata*, p. 148.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 147.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 149.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 147 f.
18. Simler, *Sammlung*, I, p. 135.

spiritual characteristics of their whole life made the deepest impression on the common people."[19] Dr. Johannes Willi, also a Zwinglian historian, says, "They desired the purification of the faith from the many [Roman Catholic] abuses [as was also true of the Protestant state church leaders], but held piety of life to be essential to the Christian profession."[20] Without question the number of convinced adherents of the Swiss Brethren Church in St. Gall was very large. The membership of their congregation was variously estimated to number from 800 to 1100. The inherent strength of "Anabaptism" clearly surpassed by far that of the Protestant state church movement in St. Gall.

On April 25, 1525, Ulimann was summoned to appear before the Council. He defended the doctrinal position of the Brethren with marked ability. Baptism indicates, he said, that one would die to sin and live to Christ and fully obey Him. The Council was divided on the questions involved in the controversy. Evidently the difficulty of refuting the doctrine of the Brethren with Scripture was keenly realized. Furthermore, it was perfectly obvious that, if the Swiss Brethren movement was to be suppressed by force and persecution, the Council had erred gravely by letting the movement grow to such proportions, instead of following the example of Zurich and taking an attitude of intolerance toward it from the beginning.

On the following day (April 26) Ulimann, upon request, appeared again before the Council. It was the government's desire, he was told, that he "for the sake of brotherly love should stand still in regard to the observance of baptism and the Lord's Supper until the questions at issue were further elucidated." After some discussion he was asked whether he was willing to comply with the Council's desire and "stand still", awaiting their final decision. He declined to give this promise and was then threatened with banishment after three days for consideration, unless he meanwhile changed his mind and desisted from his religious work. Thus the Council decided upon the persecution of the Brethren.

Four other men, Martin Bomgarter, Beda Miles, Nicolaus Swamberg, and Gabriel Giger's son, clearly assistants of Ulimann, were also summoned before the Council and given the same orders. Their attitude toward this command was the same as that taken by the Swiss Brethren in Zurich and elsewhere. They foresaw

19. *St. Galler Täufer*, p. 28.
20. *Reformation in Appenzell*, p. 77.

that the Council's final decision could be deferred almost indefinitely and, if given at all, would be a refusal of toleration. They realized that "standing still" under prevailing conditions meant retraction and denial. They declared that only if they were shown from Scripture that they erred, could they heed such orders. However, the threatened persecution was deferred for some time longer. Meanwhile the spread of the Swiss Brethren, so Kessler states, continued unabated. Apparently the Council found itself unable to agree upon the actual steps to be taken toward the suppression of the movement.

About two weeks after the hearing given Ulimann, namely on May 12, the Council decided that the Brethren should present a written statement of their doctrinal position, and that the two most prominent clergymen, Burgauer and Wetter, prepare a written defense of the Zwinglian position. This was to be done within eight days, and meanwhile a general "standing still" should be observed by the Brethren as concerned the practice of baptism and the Lord's supper. Any one refusing to "stand still" was threatened with immediate imprisonment. The two clergymen just named failed to take upon themselves the task of refuting the Brethren. This must have been disappointing and embarrassing to the Council. However, Vadian stepped in to act in their stead.

Vadian's decision to do this indicates a decided change in his attitude toward the Brethren. His biographer, Pressel, says that from the outset he was not disinclined toward the Swiss Anabaptists' doctrine and that he considered infant baptism an abuse.[21] Vadian's letter to Conrad Grebel, dated December 28, 1524, indicates that he had at that time no objection to the position held by Grebel. Again, Grebel, in a letter written to Vadian nearly a half year later (to be quoted directly at some length), said that Vadian approved the doctrine of the Brethren. The Council of St. Gall granted the Brethren, upon their request, two weeks to prepare a reply to Vadian's lengthy defense of the state church position, but they were again ordered to "stand still" during this period as concerned the observance of baptism and the Lord's supper.

Meanwhile Zwingli's *Book on Baptism*, containing his long expected and anxiously awaited defense of infant baptism, was published in Zurich (early in June, 1525). Zwingli was aware

21. Pressel, *Joachim Vadian*, p. 48.

that his former writings against the Brethren had proved inadequate. In a letter to Vadian, written in March, 1525, he remarked that in the defense of infant baptism a change in his own method of interpretation of Scripture was necessary. Zwingli apparently had misgivings regarding Vadian's attitude. In the letter just mentioned he stated that Grebel was winning many. "Strengthen yourself," he warned Vadian, "lest you also be led away by his teaching."[22]

Zwingli dedicated his *Book on Baptism* to the burgomaster, councillors and people of St. Gall. He addressed them in the preface, warning them not to permit a withdrawal of any portion of the population from the established church. Obviously he overlooked the fact that the state church in St. Gall was yet the Roman Catholic Church, and he himself defended the right of withdrawal from the Roman Church. In Zurich, so Zwingli said further in the preface to this book, the Council saw themselves compelled to take definite action against the Anabaptists.

At the time when this book came from the press, Zwingli also wrote a letter to Vadian calling attention to the book and asking him to do all that was in his power toward the suppression of Anabaptism. He wrote:

> Warn your Council in our name, if you have the opportunity to do so, that, as concerns the protection of the true Gospel, there cannot be a greater adversity than this re-baptism. These people are spreading in all directions, and it is necessary that they be speedily opposed by the wisdom and effort of the church. Here in our city the tumult of these men has somewhat abated but it has required so much sweat that it is almost unbelievable. You see, I am engaged in a death struggle with the enemies of the Gospel. All previous battles [with the Roman Catholics] were farces compared with this.—But although certain ones of the Anabaptists desisted, we on the whole accomplished nothing toward changing their spirit or checking their strength.—You will doubtlessly admit, then, that they should be opposed zealously. You will find in the preface of this book the reason why they should be resisted so strenuously. The issue is not baptism but revolt, faction, heresy.[23]

In passing, it may be worth while to notice some of the reasons why the conflict of the state church leaders with the Brethren was far more severe than their struggle with the Romanists. An outstanding reason was mentioned in a letter of Leo Judae, a Zwinglian leader of Zurich, to Vadian, namely the difficulty, or

22. *Vadianische Briefsammlung*, III, p. 110.
23. *Ibid.*, III, p. 114.

impossibility, of refuting "Anabaptism" by Scripture. Judae wrote:

> It was a very small task and not of particular difficulty to expel Antichrist [the pope] from his kingdom, to dissolve the subtleties of the sophists [the leading Roman Catholic theologians] and silence other opponents. For when the torch of the divine Word had been applied to these specters, they soon had to vanish like smoke. The fight with the Anabaptists is much sharper, and this struggle is by far the most difficult ever undertaken, for they spread shadows by means of the light [God's Word] itself; and with the most clear light of the divine Word they obscure the spirit of the Word.[24]

The charge that the Anabaptists obscured the spirit of the Word with the light of the divine Word itself, is significant. It was the general assertion of the Zwinglians that the doctrine of the Brethren was contrary to the spirit rather than to the letter of the Word. On the other hand, the evidently compromising general attitude of the state church, involving the persecution of the Anabaptists, was considered by the state church party as in agreement with the spirit of the Word. However, after the disastrous war of Zurich with the Catholic cantons, in which Zwingli lost his life (1531), Leo Judae gave expression to grave scruples against the observance of infant baptism, the existing union of church and state and the principle of state churchism.

Clearly, there were weighty causes why state church Protestantism had a harder conflict with Anabaptism than with Romanism. The opposition of Romanism practically ceased after the Council had definitely decided against it. Obviously the Romanists preferred accepting the prescribed creed to enduring persecution. While the same must be said of many who had been won for the Swiss Brethren Church in St. Gall, there were, on the other hand, many of the Brethren who refused to consider the idea of denying their convictions in order to escape persecution.

And it is a conspicuous fact that many who, if they had followed their convictions, would have united with the Brethren, refused to do so only on account of the persecution. In various cantons of Switzerland there were many who openly confessed that it was because of the persecution that they did not unite with the Brethren. In the mandates of the Council of Bern they were called *Halbtäufer* (Semi-Anabaptists). But as already indicated, of those also who were baptized by the Brethren, many permitted themselves, by fear of the executioner, to be converted to the

24. *Ibid.*, III, p. 118.

creed of state church Protestantism. This is particularly true of St. Gall where, as we have seen, in the first period of the history of the Brethren there was no persecution, and many hundreds united with them in the expectation that religious liberty had come to stay.

When Conrad Grebel, in the second half of May, 1525, received word that Vadian's attitude toward the Brethren had undergone a change from one of friendliness to that of an opponent and possible persecutor, he apparently found it difficult to believe that this change on the part of him who was, or had been, his intimate friend, was due to sincere religious considerations. With misgivings Grebel heard of developments in St. Gall and that persecution was threatening the large congregation of the Brethren in this city. He addressed Vadian in a letter dated May 30, 1525. This letter indicates that in Grebel's view it was within Vadian's power to prevent actual persecution in St. Gall and to prevail over the Council to maintain their attitude of toleration toward the Brethren. Clearly Grebel was deeply impressed with the plain fact that the pending decision of the Council was destined to influence very considerably the further outward development of the Swiss Brethren movement. So much the greater was his concern, as St. Gall was the only place where, until about that time, there had been full toleration for the Brethren. Conrad Grebel entertained strong hopes that the Council of St. Gall would maintain its attitude of toleration, and that other Swiss governments would in time fall in line with such an attitude. As just intimated, this hope apparently hinged on the steadfastness of Vadian in the attitude which from the first he had taken toward the Brethren. These things are to be taken into consideration to account for the tone and spirit of Conrad Grebel's letter to Vadian, dated May 30, 1525, of which the following is a part (translated from the Latin):

> Grace and peace be to you; peace in the Lord, and not in the world. O that it could be in the Lord. For all the favors you have bestowed upon me, I am very grateful to you, and I wish and desire that they may be richly repaid you by God, the giver of all that is good. When, however, I consider—when there comes to my mind your wrestling against those good Christian brothers of mine (I speak freely from my heart as a Christian) I could wish that I did not owe to you but to another the thanks for all that you did for me, so that, free of obligation, I might be able to say to you what should be said, and what you in fact know already, namely that all, or at least most of the fault is yours, if there shall be passed against them any decree of imprisonment, heavy fine, outlawry, or death.

> Beware, beware of innocent blood! And it is innocent whether you realize it or not; whether you are willing to admit it or not. Their patience, and the way in which they will meet their death, and the great day of the Lord will indicate their innocence. Your rising so high in religious learning and in political dignity will be to your own hurt unless you turn and change your attitude.
>
> Do not, I beg of you, take a ruinous course. If you deceive men here, you can conceal nothing from God, the searcher of the hearts and the righteous judge. Withdraw rather from the enjoyment of wealth, put your trust in God, humble yourself, be content with moderate means, withdraw from the bloody party of Zwingli, flee from your own wisdom to the divine wisdom, that you may become a fool in the eyes of the world and wise before God. Become as a child, for otherwise you cannot enter into the kingdom of God. If you are not willing to stand with the Brethren, at least do not resist them; do not give to other states the example of persecution.
>
> You approve of the doctrine, Zwingli disapproves of it. For what reason do you yet wait, since you even now know Zwingli's attitude? Can it be that you are waiting for something to give you an excuse for condemning and persecuting the doctrine? My Vadian! Why do you not bear witness as has been our custom? Why do you now act wholly by the power and arm of the flesh, and use even Scripture in judgment against us? I say again, if you mislead the Council who are lacking insight into these things, you cannot deceive God.[25]

This letter of Conrad Grebel reached Vadian about the same time as Zwingli's *Book on Baptism* and Zwingli's letter mentioned above. Zwingli, as stated above, dedicated his *Book on Baptism* to the Council and people of St. Gall to remind them of the supposed need of taking stringent measures against the Brethren. One of the priests of the city, Dominik Zili, offered to read the book publicly in St. Laurentius church. He invited the leaders of the

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25. *Ibid.*, III, p. 116 ff. Extensive research work on Conrad Grebel has been undertaken at Goshen College by Professors Ernst Correll, Harold S. Bender, and Edward Yoder, in preparation of a work, "The Life and Letters of Conrad Grebel." It may be confidently expected that this work will mean a substantial contribution to what has previously been written on this theme. A number of pertinent articles have been published in the *Mennonite Quarterly Review* and its predecessor, the *Review Supplement* to the *Goshen College Record*, such as, "Conrad Grebel's Petition of Protest and Defense to the Zurich Council in 1524, A Translation with Notes and Introduction", by Ernst Correll and Harold S. Bender, *Review Supplement*, January, 1926; "The Forthcoming Biography of Grebel", by Harold S. Bender, *Review Supplement*, January, 1926; "A Letter of Conrad Grebel to Zwingli", with notes by Ernst Correll, Harold S. Bender, and Edward Yoder, *Review Supplement*, September, 1927; "A Letter of Conrad Grebel to Andreas Castelberger", by Ernst Correll and Harold S. Bender, *M. Q. R.*, Vol. I, No. 3; "Nine Letters of Conrad Grebel", with translation and notet, by Edward Yoder, *M. Q. R.*, Vol. II, No. 4; "Conrad Grebel as a Humanist", by Edward Yoder, *M. Q. R.*, Vol. III, No. 2.

Brethren to be present "and to reply to the arguments presented in the book." They were in fact ordered by the Council to attend this meeting.[26] It is of course impossible to determine which parts of the book were read on this occasion. The preface and some other portions contain abusive statements about the Anabaptists. Ulimann, with many of the Brethren, having gathered in the gallery of the church, listened to the reading of a considerable part of the book, as is expressly stated by Kessler. Doubtlessly Ulimann protested against some of the statements that were read. He finally suggested that it would be more profitable to read God's Word than the word of Zwingli. When the burgomaster Christian Studer insisted that the book be read further, one of the Brethren announced that they were waiting for a booklet by Conrad Grebel refuting Zwingli's arguments. Finally Uliman with his friends left the church with a protest. Johannes Kessler, though a Zwinglian, says that the audience were of the opinion that "the truth of God was on the side of the Anabaptists;" in other words, that Zwingli's arguments were not convincing.[27]

On June 5 the Brethren presented to the Council a letter of Conrad Grebel on the pending questions. Vadian, on the other hand, had prepared a lengthy paper in defense of the state church position, which was read before the Council. The Brethren publicly read their reply on the following day. "They were of the opinion," says Kessler, "that they had entirely refuted and overthrown Dr. Vadian's arguments." The Council decided against the Brethren. They were now definitely forbidden the teaching and practice of their faith in the city and vicinity, on pain of exile. It was decreed that their meetings must cease entirely, and that henceforth heavy fines were to be exacted from those who were baptized. Men were to be fined ten pounds and women five pounds. Two hundred men, whose personal position was satisfactory to the Council, were sworn in and ordered to be ready at any time to appear with their weapons at the city hall. Furthermore these men were charged with the duty to see to it that no religious meetings were held outside the church and that all other religious orders and decrees of the Council were strictly observed.[28] These precautionary measures taken by the Council may have been partly

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26. Zwingli's arguments for infant baptism, as given in this book, are fully set forth and answered by Balthasar Hubmaier in his *Dialogue*. Large parts of Hubmaier's book are given in Horsch, *Infant Baptism*, pp. 79-90.

27. *Sabbata*, p. 149.

28. Vadian, *Deutsche historische Schriften*, II, p. 405.

inspired by a fear of insurrection, since Zwingli and others charged the Brethren with seditious intentions, but these measures proved unnecessary. The accusation that their teaching on nonresistance was but a cloak to hide sinister aims against the government was without any foundation whatever, as will be further indicated later.

We have seen that the Swiss Brethren movement had progressed in St. Gall for a considerable period without interference by the civil authorities. A large portion of the population of the city and vicinity had joined the movement from sincere conviction. Evidently they had, through the acceptance of the message of the Brethren, experienced a religious awakening, manifesting itself in a changed, devoted life. The late Professor Emil Egli, of Zurich, and other Zwinglian historians, have asserted that Vadian and the Council of St. Gall, in their conflict with the Brethren, championed the very essence of Christianity. Obviously it is difficult to see that the leaders of state church Protestantism could at this time be considered the defenders of the essence of Christianity against the Brethren. The Council had given the priests orders to preach Zwinglian doctrine but did not give them permission to discard the mass. In the decree of the Council by which some time later the mass was finally abolished, the statement was made that the mass is blasphemy against God and a great abomination.[29] The "idols", or images, which also according to Zwinglian teaching were very objectionable, were removed from the churches of St. Gall in December, 1526, or about a year and a half after the beginning of the persecution of the dissenters. From the political point of view, leaving religious and moral principles out of consideration, there were excuses, it is true, for the long postponement of these reforms. From the religious or Christian point of view the continued observance of the mass was an unspeakable offense. The idea that such an attitude as that taken by the leaders of state church Protestantism toward the observance of the mass was necessary to insure the success of the reformation movement was clearly based on the Jesuitical principle that the end justifies the means.

As indicated above, it was in fact not a Zwinglian or Protestant church with which the Brethren were to be compelled by the Zwinglian Council of St. Gall to unite. The state church was, or was supposed to be, Zwinglian in doctrine but in deed and practice it was yet substantially Roman Catholic. The state churches of St. Gall and other cantons presented at that time a sorry spectacle, not only in the estimation of the Brethren but to all thinking per-

29. *Sabbata*, p. 574.

sons. The state church claimed for itself the right to differ from Romanism, but girded itself with the sword of persecution to compel the Brethren to unite with a church which was yet virtually Roman Catholic, and thus to extirpate Anabaptism. In fact, Vadian himself was aware of the inconsistencies of the course which he had advised to be taken in St. Gall. As already indicated, he said in one of his books that those who were inclined to piety and uprightness of life were the most susceptible to the doctrine of the Brethren. Furthermore he stated that he and other councillors disliked to take severe measures against them. Vadian and the Council recognized the inconsistency of making a crime of the profession of a faith which the Brethren had embraced by the permission of the Council. Obviously the Council would have preferred to steer clear of religious tyranny, and to permit the Brethren further to follow the dictates of their consciences. However, the Council finally allowed themselves to be persuaded that the best interests of the church demanded the suppression of the Anabaptists.

It is a fact worthy of note that Vadian and the Council of St. Gall, despite the measures they took toward the suppression of all dissent, clung in theory to the principle of toleration. Johannes Kessler says, in order not to appear tyrannical or as using force in matters of faith, the Council did not forbid ministers of the Brethren to preach, but demanded that they preach only in St. Laurentius Church at certain stated hours. But, as stated above, and as Kessler says expressly in this connection, four prominent men of the state church were commissioned in this church to make impossible any deviation from Zwinglian doctrine. Only that which was acceptable from the viewpoint of the state church could be taught or preached in this church. Consequently, the only liberty granted the Brethren by the Council was the liberty to preach Zwinglian doctrine. Now, such supposed liberty prevailed also under Roman Catholic governments which made no pretense of granting religious liberty. In Roman Catholic states there was, of course, liberty to teach and preach Romanism. But such tyranny under a feigned cloak of liberty, as was exercised toward the Brethren by the Council of St. Gall, was to them even more offensive than open intolerance. The Romanists were at least more consistent in this regard. And they did not make the mistake of persecuting the Brethren after tolerating them and permitting them to establish themselves.

The displeasure and disappointment of the Swiss Brethren,

when the profession and practice of their faith were made a crime, would be difficult to describe. Johannes Kessler says, they showed the greatest indignation when the demand was made that they accept the religious position of the Council. Recantation was not asked of them (as it was also not asked of the Romanists when the mass was finally abolished and forbidden), but they were forbidden by decrees of the Council to practice the ordinances, to hold meetings, and to maintain their church or congregation. Those who refused to conform to these decrees were arrested and exiled, unless they left the city on their own accord.

The court records of St. Gall contain considerable material relative to the persecution of the Brethren. Hans Kern, called Krüsi, a minister of the Brethren, was banished from St. Gall on June 16, 1525 with strict orders to keep silence regarding the treatment which he had received during his imprisonment. Shortly afterward he was burned at the stake at Lucerne. Laurence Hochrütiner and his family we find in August of the same year in Basel. Wolfgang Ulimann and Sebastian Ruggensberger were banished on July 17. Ulimann evidently returned to the city; he was, with Martin Bomgarter, banished again on September 6 with the threat of capital punishment if they returned.

Again and again Ulimann returned, being in every instance promptly arrested and exiled when he was found by the catch-polls. His father was a prominent man in the affairs of the city, and he had other influential friends and patrons whose intercession prevented severer punishment. After January 22, 1526, when he was again exiled after a long imprisonment, he seems to have avoided St. Gall. In March of the same year he just missed being executed at Chur in the canton of Graubünden.[30] In April, 1528, he was banished from Basel. He went to the Austrian province of Moravia. Two years later he was executed with the sword at Waldsee in South Germany while attempting to lead a number of his brethren from St. Gall and Appenzell to Moravia where there was less persecution than in any other country or province. Martin Bomgarter, apparently a minister of the Swiss Brethren, was sentenced by the Council, on November 19, 1526, to have his tongue cut out by the executioner. The records do not state whether or not this sentence was carried out. Vadian, who had meanwhile been chosen burgomaster of the city, says that the Council of

30. *Vadianische Briefsammlung*, IV, p. 12.

St. Gall found it an indescribably difficult and burdensome task to check the Anabaptist movement.[31]

Nicolaus Guldi, a prominent member of the Swiss Brethren Church in St. Gall, wrote in a letter: "I am forsaken of all the world, of wife, father, mother and sister according to the flesh, and of all men [including his backslidden brethren in St. Gall], but it is right. Christ also was forsaken of all men and even of His disciples. It is enough that I be as He."[32] Matthias Hiller, of St. Gall, we find in 1526 at Strasburg in Alsace. On May 21 of the following year he suffered martyrdom in Rottenburg on the Neckar, in Wurttemberg, with three other Brethren, one of whom, named Geiger, was apparently also of St. Gall. A contemporary chronicler described their execution with the sword as follows:

> The four men were led out to the place of execution on the same day that Michael Sattler had, after the most appalling torture, been burned at the stake. They manifested true Christian courage and stood loyally to the faith and to the Word of God to the end, encouraging and comforting one another. When they came to the place of execution a mounted courier came with a message, "The margrave offered them grace and release, if they recanted." They replied that they valued the grace of God more highly than that of men and of all the world. Then they, with cheerful hearts, knelt down and the hangman did his work. Matthias Hiller, when his three friends lay dead before him, was implored again to save his life, recant, and accept grace. He said quickly, "By no means; this can never be the will of God. If I had seven heads I would give them for the name of Christ." With these words he knelt again, committed his soul to God and thus ended his life with the others.

In Zurich and other cantons where "Anabaptism" was persecuted from the outset, the growth of the Swiss Brethren Church from the beginning was far slower than in St. Gall. In these cantons only those who were willing to bear persecution for their faith united with the Brethren. The beginning of persecution in St. Gall showed that many, who had united with the Swiss Brethren in this city and vicinity, would have refrained from doing so, had they not expected and believed that the Council of St. Gall would continue its policy of granting liberty of conscience. While, when the test came, many stood true to their convictions, and suffered imprisonment and banishment, the great majority of those who had united with the Brethren in St. Gall preferred to accept the religious or-

31. Vadian, *Deutsche historische Schriften*, II, p. 405.

32. *Actensammlung*, p. 377.

33. Füssli, *Beyträge*, II, p. 379.

ders of the Council. The majority of the congregation took the position of the so-called Semi-Anabaptists who at heart accepted the faith of the Swiss Brethren but, to escape persecution, professed the creed prescribed by the civil authorities.

There is convincing evidence that those Anabaptists who stood loyally to their convictions left the territory of St. Gall. Vadian stated, as will be indicated elsewhere, that within a comparatively short time those who had been re-baptized and remained in the city yielded fully to the Council's desires. Johannes Kessler says, referring to February, 1526, "The government of our city believed that Anabaptism had been suppressed and that those who had once been re-baptized held no longer to their former errors but had forsaken them. The government paid no particular attention to them but let them move about freely without any persecution."[34] Evidently they had ceased to be dissenters and were again rightly considered members of the state church which, as stated above, was at that time yet Roman Catholic, though the Council had decided that Romanism was eventually to be abolished. Thus the Swiss Brethren congregation of St. Gall ceased to exist. The so-called Semi-Anabaptists, by the way, were very numerous in the canton Bern, in the Tyrol, and other states. However, it is worth noticing that, as stated by a number of contemporary writers, those who had formerly united with the "Anabaptists" and had subsequently renounced their Anabaptist faith because of the persecution, often lost out religiously and morally and became reckless and wanton.

In his *Diarium* Vadian, who in 1526 was chosen burgomaster of St. Gall, wrote that after the second War of Cappel, in 1531, which resulted in the utter defeat of the Zwinglian forces and the death of Zwingli, the Anabaptist movement showed a noticeable increase in strength in many places, particularly in parts of the canton Bern; he says that the Council of St. Gall was again called upon to deal with Anabaptists. Vadian states further that in a session of the *Tagsatzung*, held in the Swiss town of Baden, in 1532, the official representatives of Swiss states passed another decree demanding the arrest of all Anabaptists in every part of Switzerland, and the execution of those who declined to recant. Two men and four women suffered martyrdom by drowning in Baden about the time when this order was passed.

A strange phenomenon, called "dying", is reported as having

34. *Sabbata*, p. 159.

occurred in St. Gall among those who had formerly been Anabaptists. The chronicler Herman Miles says that on November 9, 1526, a number of women were sentenced to carry the "stone of vice" from the city hall to the Spiser gate, from there to the Multer gate, and then back to the city hall. Their transgression was that they "had died". Miles adds that in the preceding year they had been re-baptized. "Dying" was forbidden by a decree of the Council, and these women were consequently sentenced to this act of shame and supposed degradation: to carry the "stone of vice". Those who were attacked by this strange phenomenon fell down "as dead" but soon revived. "Dying" of this sort, it is interesting to notice, occurred frequently in Methodist camp meetings in the last century, after the great revival in Kentucky which began in 1801. For trustworthy information on "dying" as it occurred in evangelistic meetings in the second quarter of the last century see the biography of Jacob Albrecht.[35] (The charges of fanaticism made against the Brethren in St. Gall and Appenzell will be given consideration in a succeeding article.)

In June of the year 1532 the Council of St. Gall learned that a minister of the Brethren, Hans Marquart of Weissenhorn, had repeatedly preached in and near a private house in the vicinity of the city. Hans Marquart who, as Vadian says, was an eloquent speaker and knew the Scriptures thoroughly, had been priest in Constance, then for about three years Zwinglian preacher at Reinach in the canton Bern, and had then united with the Swiss Brethren. His preaching near St. Gall was attended by large numbers, and resulted in the awakening of many. Among those who were won by him was Master Conrad, the executioner of St. Gall, who had led an evil life but now turned to God in sincere repentance. A certain criminal who had committed murder was sentenced to death and was to be executed. Master Conrad handed in his resignation declaring that he would never again take human life. However he had not been baptized. The question how to deal with him was laid before the Council by the burgomaster. A strong minority of the Councillors were of the opinion that a large measure of toleration should be granted the Anabaptists and that there was scarcely occasion for any action, but the majority sided with the burgomaster.[36]

35. *Leben von Jacob Albrecht und Georg Miller*, New Berlin, 1834, pp. 116, 121, 123. Compare the description of a very large number of cases of "dying" in the revival in Kentucky in *History of the Jumpers*, Waukesha, Wis., 1909, pp. 336-338, 352.

36. Vadian, *Deutsche historische Schriften*, III, p. 501.

Marquart was arrested and it was decided, before taking final action against him, to arrange for a public debate between him and spokesmen of the state church, including Vadian. The debate was held June 19 to 21, 1532, on the first day in a room of the town hall and, beginning on the morning of the second day in the large hall of the weavers' guild. Vadian has given us a valuable account of this debate showing the thoroughly evangelical position held by Marquart who within a few days was banished from St. Gall. Three others, among them Otmar Roth, were exiled because they had assisted in arranging for Anabaptist meetings and had given lodging to Anabaptists. The *Ausbund*, the earliest hymn book of the Swiss Brethren, contains a hymn by Otmar Roth of St. Gall (No. 58).

An echo of the Swiss Brethren movement is found in the fact that after this movement had ceased in St. Gall, the state church leaders of this city demanded the practice of church discipline. In this respect St. Gall differed from all Swiss cantons except Basel where Oecolampad made an unsuccessful attempt toward the introduction of discipline. When, in 1528, the Roman communion service was discarded and the evangelical observance introduced in St. Gall[37], the Council of the city, as well as the clergy, were of the opinion that "church discipline, according to Matthew 18 and I Cor. 5, should also be introduced." However, the opposition to discipline in the state church proved too strong for such an attempt. Dominik Zili, formerly schoolmaster, then preacher in St. Gall, was a zealous defender of the need of church discipline. In a synod of the Reformed state church, held in 1529 at Rheineck, the use of discipline was decided upon for St. Gall and some adjoining districts, but this decision was not carried out. Zili also demanded the prohibition of worldly amusements, such as dancing.[38] In various successive synods he sharply contradicted and criticized Zwingli, who was personally present, for denying the need of church discipline. Zili also objected to the oath which was required for preachers of the state church at their ordination, because it contained the vow of obedience to the Council without making mention of the authority of Scripture.

The canton of Appenzell was separated from St. Gall only by a narrow strip of territory which was ruled by the prince-abbot of the cloister of St. Gall. Eberli Bolt, of Lachen in the canton

37. *Sabbata*, p. 247.
38. *Fridolin Sichers Chronik*, p. 251.

Appenzell, the first martyr of the Swiss Brethren, labored in this canton, as well as in St. Gall, with great success. After his execution in May, 1525, Hans Kern, called Krüsi, of Klingnau preached and baptized in the canton Appenzell. At Gossau there was a large congregation of the Brethren. At Teufen Hans Kern won the majority of the adult population who apparently united with the Swiss Brethren and ceased to attend the church of the Zwinglian preacher Jacob Schurtanner. Johannes Kessler states that Schurtanner was "deposed" by his congregation (parishioners). This would undoubtedly mean that they refused to attend the services. Schurtanner seems to have continued the observance of the mass, though he preached Zwinglian doctrine, and this doubtlessly offended his parishioners. He left Teufen in April 1525, probably before the middle of April, when the mass was abolished at Zurich. The first Protestant communion services in the canton of Appenzell were held two years later.[39]

Assuming that Kessler's statement that the people of Teufen deposed Jacob Schurtanner to mean that they shunned the services at the parish church, they only followed the advice given by Zwingli in his book *The Shepherd*, published March 26, 1524, which he dedicated to Jacob Schurtanner. In this book Zwingli had written: "If the shepherd [pastor] is false, do not listen to him, and if all parishioners recognize him as false, dismiss him by a unanimous vote. If you cannot do this, refuse unitedly to hear him."[40]

Hans Kern lived not in the canton Appenzell but at St. Georgen under the prince-abbot. Here he was arrested by an officer Melchior Tegen, and taken to Lucerne to be burned at the stake—the second martyr of the Swiss Brethren. George Blaurock was in Appenzell in April, 1529.[41]

In October, 1529, a disputation with the Brethren, arranged by the Council of Appenzell, was held in the church at Teufen, indicating that the Council took a comparatively mild attitude toward them. The leniency of the government of Appenzell toward the Brethren caused Zwingli and the Zwinglian governments of certain Swiss cantons to address this government, in 1531, urging the need of taking a more determined attitude and at least punish Anabaptism by exile. Zwingli also, and others, offered assistance in case another disputation was to be held. It is uncertain whether

39. Willi, *Reformation in Appenzell*, p. 65.

40. *Zwinglis Werke*, III, p. 64.

41. Egli, *Actensammlung*, p. 660.

there was a second disputation. Many of the Brethren of Appenzell fled to Moravia, the land of comparative religious liberty.

(For lack of a more befitting expression we have referred to the state of Appenzell as a canton. It was not organized as a canton until a later period.)

# THE FOUNDING OF THE MENNONITE CHURCH IN AMERICA AT GERMANTOWN, 1683-1708

Harold S. Bender

"The beginning of the Church of Jesus Christ [in America], which is called Mennonite, took place on this wise at Germantown. A number of friends out of Holland and other places in Germany here came together. Now the most of these were Quakers, so they [the Mennonites] could not agree with them, and they began to have a meeting, although as sheep without a shepherd. Since they had no preacher, they endeavored to admonish one another. Later, in the year 1698 [1690?] others of our brethren in the faith came in from Crefeld and other places in that country. They met with us for meeting in the house of Isaac Jacobs van Bebber. These last-named friends together with the earlier group, considered it to be better for the edification of the church to choose by election a preacher and a deacon. Thereupon, the first ministers were chosen, namely, as preacher, William Rittenhouse, born in Mongowerland, and as deacon, Jan Neuss from Crefeld. The above named preacher then began to minister to the church.

"A second election was held on October 8, 1702, to choose two additional preachers, when Jacob Gottschalk from Goch, and Hans Neuss from Crefeld were chosen. These two ministered to the church by reading only. Later, strife arose between Hans Neuss and Arnold van Vossen, for Hans Neuss believed himself to have been wronged, so he withdrew from the church and never reunited with the church throughout his life.

"In the year 1707 a number of brethren came to us from the Palatinate. They kept to themselves for the space of an entire year. On February 18, 1708, the first chosen minister, William Rittenhouse, died, to the great sorrow of the church. That left only Jacob Gottschalk to minister to the church and he did so only by reading. At this time the Palatinate brethren united with us, and the entire church considered it advisable for the upbuilding of the church, to choose three men as deacons or overseers of the church. This was done on March 22, 1708, when Isaak van Sintern, Heinrich Cassel, and Conrad Jansen were cho-

sen. A month later, on the 20th of April, two preachers were chosen, namely, Harmen Karsdorp and Martin Kolb.

"Thereupon the members of the church, at that time consisting of a total of 34 brothers and sisters including preachers and deacons, together with their ministers, considered it advisable that those who had applied for membership should be baptized. It fell to Jacob Gottschalk to do this; and so the first members to be taken into our church in this country by baptism were received, eleven in number. Consequently, the church grew to forty-five members in size. On the 23rd of May we celebrated with one another the memorial of the bitter suffering and death of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ according to His ordinance and the practice of His apostles.

"In 1709 more brethren and sisters came to us from the Palatinate. Consequently, by April 6, 1712, our church at Germantown and as far as Skippack had grown to the extent that it consisted of ninety-nine members in number."

This brief summary of the beginning of the Mennonite Church in America, written by Jacob Gottschalk himself, was in the hands of Andrew Ziegler, Bishop at Skippack in 1773, when he together with Isaac Kolb and Christian Funk, bishops of the Salford-Franconia congregation, addressed a letter to the Mennonite ministers at Crefeld, who together with Johannes Cuperus of Utrecht, Holland, had written to America asking for a history of the founding of the church together with a list of congregations and ministers. Jacob Gottschalk, supposedly the first bishop at Germantown and Skippack, died in 1763. His brief history must have been written in 1712, where it stops so abruptly with the spring communion and baptism of that year.[1]

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1. A manuscript copy of the Ziegler letter in the original German, containing the Gottschalk history, is in the possession of the family of Schmitt-Weber in Worms, Germany. It was published in the *Christlicher Gemeinde-Kalender*, Kaiserslautern, Germany, 1929, by Christian Neff. A Dutch manuscript translation of the Ziegler letter, secured by S. W. Pennypacker in Holland, is said to be now in the possession of the Schwenkfelder Historical Library at Pennsburg, Pa. Pennypacker translated the Dutch version into English and published it in his biography of *Hendrick Pannebecker*, Philadelphia, 1894. The Gottschalk extract was published by Pennypacker in his *Settlement of Germantown*, Philadelphia, 1899. An exact reprint of the Ziegler letter, taken from the Hendrick Pannebecker biography, appeared in the *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, October, 1929. There are some slight variations between the German text and the English translation from the Dutch. In such cases the German text has been here followed. The original Dutch manuscript copy cannot be located by the librarian of the Schwenkfelder Library. The most serious discrepancy between the two existing manuscripts affects an important date, but unfortunately the Dutch manuscript seems to be lost. The Pennypacker translation of the Dutch manuscript gives 1690 as the date of

A still earlier record dealing with the beginning of the Mennonite Church in America than that contained in the Ziegler-Gottschalk account, is found in a letter written by the bishop and ministers of the Mennonite Church at Hamburg-Altona, Germany, in March, 1702, to Claes Berends, a member of the Mennonite Church at Germantown.[2] Berends had written to the ministers at Altona, his former congregation, reporting the lack of a bishop in the new settlement which prevented them from having baptism or communion services. Berends' suggestion that someone be sent from Germany to ordain a bishop was rejected as impracticable because of the rigors of the long journey thither. The Altona ministers advised rather that the congregation in Germantown proceed with its own ministers to the administration of the rites of baptism and communion when necessary, pointing to the example of Philip in the New Testament who, though a deacon, yet baptized the Ethiopian, and Paul, who though not commissioned to baptize, yet did so.

On the third of September, 1708, the ministerial body of the Germantown church addressed a letter to Herman Schyn and other Mennonite ministers in Holland, containing an appeal for catechisms and testaments for the young, and psalm books and Bibles for the meeting house. They also requested aid in the publication of an English edition of the Confession of Faith. Bibles were few in the congregation, there being none even in the meeting house.[3] In the letter a report is given of the death of Rittenhouse on February 18, 1708, the subsequent election of new ministers and deacons, and the addition of 11 new members by baptism.

From the above documents it is clear that the little congregation at Germantown, six miles from Philadelphia, which was well established by 1708, with a membership of 45, a full complement of ministers and deacons, and a meeting house, was the first permanent settlement of Mennonites in America. The membership was recruited from Crefeld and neighboring communities, Hamburg-Altona, the Palatinate, and to a small extent from Hol-

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the arrival of the second group of immigrants which led to the decision to ordain a minister. The German manuscript has the year 1698 at this point.

2. A contemporary extract of this letter in the original Dutch is preserved in the archives of the Mennonite Church at Hamburg-Altona. A German translation of the extract appeared in the *Mennonite Quarterly Review* for October, 1931.

3. This letter, signed by all the ministers and deacons at Germantown except Heinrich Cassel, is now in the archives of the Mennonite Church at Amsterdam. A manuscript copy is to be found in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia, Pa. An English translation appeared in the *Mennonite Quarterly Review* for January, 1933.

land directly. The Palatinate group was the latest to arrive (1707) and apparently the most aggressive.

A still earlier witness to the presence of Mennonites in Germantown is contained in a letter written on June 7, 1690, by Dominie (Preacher) Rudolfus Varick, a Reformed pastor visiting at that time in Pennsylvania, and addressed to friends in Amsterdam, Holland. The portion of the letter which refers to Mennonites reads as follows:

"I came to a German village near Philadelphia, where among others, I heard Jacob Telner, a German Quaker, preaching. The village consists of 44 families, 28 of whom are Quakers, the other 16 of the Reformed Church, among whom I spoke to those who had been received as members of the Lutherans, Mennonites and Baptists, who are very much opposed to Quakerism, and therefore lovingly meet every Sunday when a Menist, Dirck Keyser from Amsterdam, reads a sermon from a book by Jobst Harmensen."[4]

From the documents given above the names of thirteen males who were members of the congregation before 1708 can be ascertained. They are, with year of their first appearance in the records as Mennonites, as follows: Dirck Keyser, 1690; Isaac Jacobs van Bebber, 1698 or 1690; William Rittenhouse, 1698 or 1690, died February 18, 1708; Jan Neuss, 1698 or 1690; Jacob Gottschalk, 1702; Hans Neuss, 1702, withdrew shortly after 1702; Claes Berends, 1702; Arnold van Vossen, 1702; Harmen Karsdorp, 1708; Martin Kolb, 1708; Isaac van Sintern, 1708; Heinrich Cassel, 1708; Conrad Jansen, 1708.

Can the names of the remaining members of the congregation be ascertained? Is it possible to determine the locality of origin of all the members? Let us see. Our starting-point will be an examination of the pertinent extant documents.

On September 5th, 1714, Arnold van Vossen conveyed by deed 35 perches of land to Hendrick Sellen and Jan Neuss as an addition to the church yard plot originally deeded by van Vossen to Jan Neuss alone on February 10, 1703. No other public American document of an earlier date than these two deeds mentions the name Mennonite. The next later public document is a deed of 1717 conveying land for the Skippack Mennonite Meeting House from Mathias van Bebber to seven Mennonite trustees of

4. N. H. Keyser, *Old Historic Germantown* (also *Pennsylvania German Society Proceedings*, XV), Lancaster, Pa., 1906, p. 63. Keyser fails to cite the documentary source for his material.

the Mennonite congregation there, by name, Henry Sellen, Claus Jansen, Henry Kolb, Martin Kolb, Jacob Kolb, Michael Ziegler, and Herman Kuster.

The Mennonite Confession of Faith printed by Bradford at Philadelphia in 1727, contains the names of sixteen Mennonite ministers who subscribed to the Confession in 1725. The ministers who signed for Germantown at that date were John Gorgas, John Conrad, and Claes Rittenhouse. For Skippack, the signers were Jacob Gottschalk, Henry Kolb, Claes Jansen, and Michael Ziegler.

In some way or other the Baptist historian, Morgan Edwards, in 1770 secured or prepared a list of the members of the Germantown Mennonite Church purporting to give the membership as of May, 1708[5]. The Edwards list is given below arranged alphabetically, male names on the left and female names on the right, with the ministers at the head of the list. This arrangement, though not found in the original, may aid in discovering family connections. The earliest known year of appearance in America is supplied with the name by the present writer from the writings of Pennypacker, Learned, and Smith on Germantown. The wholly unreliable spelling of Edwards has been corrected.

PREACHERS

Wm. Rittenhouse and wife, 1688 (d. Febr. 18, 1708)
Jacob Gottschalk and wife, 1702
Martin Kolb and wife, 1707 (m. May 19, 1709 to Magdalena van Sintern)
Harmen Karsdorp and wife, 1700 (wife's name, Adriana de Voss)

DEACONS

Heinrich Cassel and wife, 1707
Conrad Jansen and wife, 1707
Isaac van Sintern and wife, 1700 (wife's name, Cornelia Claasen)
Jan Neuss, 1690 or 1698, d. 1719

| MALES | FEMALES |
|---|---|
| Bowman, Wynant | Bowman, Anna |
| Connerts, John (preacher by 1725 at Germantown) | Connerts, Civilia |
| Connerts, Peter | Connerts, Gertrude |
| (Heinrich Kasselberg, here before 1691) | Casselberry, Catharine |
| Classen, Cornelius, 1700 (father-in-law of Isaac van Sintern) | |
| Gorgas, John (preacher by 1725 at Germantown) | |
| | Huberts, Margaret |

5. Morgan Edwards: *Materials Towards a History of the American Baptists*, Philadelphia, 1770, Vol. 1, p. 96.

Keyser, Peter (son of Dirck Keyser, b. 1676, married to Margaret Souplie, aged 18, in 1700, joined the Dunkards in 1719)
Kolb, Jacob, 1707 (married Sarah van Sintern in 1710)
Kolb, John, 1707.....Kolb, Barbara
Klumpken, Paul (Jacob Klumpken, arrived 1688)
Krey, John .....Krey, Helena
Kuster, Arnold, 1693.....Kuster, Elizabeth
Kuster, Herman, 1693 (wife's name, Gertrude Streypers)
(The Kusters were sons of Paulus Kuster who came in 1693, d. 1707)
Lensen, John, 1683
Neuss, Hans, 1702 (withdrew about 1703, d. July 19, 1736)
(John Rebenstock, Reformed, here before 1702).....Revenstock, Altien
Sellen, Hendrick, 1688.....Sellen, Mary
Tunes, Herman (Teyner?).....Tunes, Mary
(Cornelius Tyson, here by 1703).....Tysen, Margaret
Tysen, Altien
Van Bebber, Jacob Isaacs, 1687 (moved to Philadelphia before 1698, died there before 1711)
Van Bebber, Isaac Jacobs, 1684 (moved to Maryland in 1704)
(Married to Jacob Kolb in 1710).....Van Sintern, Sarah, 1700
Van Vossen, Arnold, 1700.....Van Vossen, Mary
Van Vossen, Civilia
Zimmerman, Christopher

Strangely, Edwards lists 51 members in 1708, whereas the account of Jacob Gottschalk as quoted above, states that the total membership was but 45. A careful examination of the Edwards list, however, reveals several errors and accounts for the discrepancy. William Rittenhouse, according to Gottschalk's account, died on February 18, 1708, and so was no longer living in May, 1708. His wife was also taken sick and probably died at the same time, although Gottschalk does not state whether she died. Hans Neuss had withdrawn from the church before 1708. The Van Bebbers had moved away, the father to Philadelphia where he died before 1711, and the son to Maryland, so their names should probably be omitted. Martin Kolb was not married until May 19, 1709. If these six persons be omitted from the Edwards list, the resulting number agrees with the Gottschalk number of 45.

There are other problems in connection with the membership roll of the Germantown congregation in 1708. The Edwards list contains so many authentic names that it must have been copied from the official record of the church. But if that was the case, why were other names omitted, who are known without a doubt to have been members of the congregation during the period before 1708? The name of Hans Neuss is retained in the Edwards

list although according to Gottschalk he had withdrawn from the church after a quarrel with Arnold van Vossen shortly after his ordination, and had never returned to the fold. If Edwards carelessly copied a list in 1770 which gave the early members, without pruning the list of the dead and withdrawn members, why did his list not include such names as Dirck Keyser, Nicholas Rittenhouse, Henry Kolb, Nicholas Jansen and Paul Engle? The names of Jacob Telner, Claes Berends, and a few others would naturally be omitted since they had returned to Europe before 1708. Let us consider the omitted names.

*Dirck Keyser*, b. 1635, d. Nov. 30, 1714, a Mennonite silk merchant from Amsterdam, had lived as a widower in Germantown since 1688. His son, Peter Keyser, born in Amsterdam in 1676, appears on the list of members, and he himself officiated at the marriage of Jacob Kolb to Sarah van Sintern in the Mennonite Meeting House in Germantown on May 2, 1710.[6] Several historians have erroneously assumed that Keyser was a Mennonite preacher on the basis of this ceremony, and yet his name is not on the membership roll at all, according to Edwards. He did not die until November 30, 1714. Tradition has it that a committee of brethren from Skippack came to Germantown to admonish him concerning the wearing of a silk coat. He is referred to by Dominie Varick in the above-quoted letter as a "Menist". Surely he must have been a member.

*Nicholas (Klaes) Rittenhouse*, son of the preacher, William Rittenhouse, was a Mennonite minister in Germantown in 1725 as is indicated by his signature of the Confession of Faith in that year. He had been in Germantown since 1688, and was married about May 29, 1689 in the Dutch Reformed Church of New York to Wilhelmina Dewees, a sister of William Dewees, senior elder of the first German Reformed Church established in America, which was organized in his house in 1710. Rittenhouse was at this time (1708) past forty years of age. Surely he was a member, or was he baptized later?

*Henry Kolb* was one of the four Kolb brothers who came to Germantown from the Palatinate in 1707. His three brothers, Martin, Jacob, and John, appear in the list, and he himself was one of the trustees for the Skippack church property in 1717, and a minister at Skippack in 1725, one of the signers of the Confession of Faith, yet his name is not on the list. Perhaps he was baptized later.

6. Keyser, C. S., *The Keyser Family*, Philadelphia, 1889, p. 31.

*Nicholas (Claes) Jansen* had been in Germantown since 1685. He was one of the first settlers at Skippack in 1702, where his name appears as a trustee in 1717, and as a minister in 1725, a signer of the Confession. Was he not a baptized member in 1708?

It is possible of course, though doubtful, that all of the above persons were Mennonites in Holland and Germany but simply neglected to attach themselves actively to the church in Germantown by a transfer of membership. This would seem strange, however, in the case of Rittenhouse, Kolb, and Jansen, all of whom later became preachers, and also in the case of Keyser, whose son was a member. All of these persons were living in 1708.

In addition to the persons listed above whom we know beyond a reasonable doubt to have been Mennonites at some time in their lives, numerous other early settlers have been listed as Mennonites by historians of Germantown. S. W. Pennypacker, who is the greatest authority on Germantown, mentions the following as Mennonites in his book, *The Settlement of Germantown*, (Philadelphia, 1902), without, however, giving any evidence in support of the claim: Dirk Sellen, brother of Hendrick Sellen of Crefeld, by 1691; Hendrick Kasselberg, of Backersdorf in the County of Brugge, by 1691; Isaac Karsdorp, 1700; Willem Hosters, 1702, a weaver from Crefeld; Abraham Op den Graeff, 1683; Herman Op den Graeff, 1683; Herman Tunes. He infers that the following were also Mennonites, although he does not assert it definitely: Cornelius Bom, 1683, a baker from Holland, d. not later than 1689; Jan Streypers of Crefeld, 1687; Heivert Papen, 1685. Dr. C. Henry Smith, a leading Mennonite historian, in his latest book, *The Mennonite Immigration to Pennsylvania*, (Norristown, 1929), gives an even more extensive number of names who he believes were Mennonites. His conclusions are based to a large extent on Pennypacker, but go materially beyond him. He also gives no documentary evidence for his claims: Cornelis Bom, 1683; Walter Siemens, 1684; Hans Peter Umstat, 1685; Heivert Papen, 1685; Albertus Brand, by 1691 (married to Susanna, daughter of Jacob Telner, d. in 1701); Hans Milan, by 1691; Dirck Sellen, by 1691; Cornelius Sieverts, by 1691; Heinrich Kasselberg, by 1691; Paul Engel, by 1702; Hans Graf, by 1708; Willem Hosters, 1702; Heinrich Pannebecker, 1698; and John Jacobs. Any judgment on the validity of the claims of Pennypacker and Smith is chiefly a matter of opinion. Heinrich Pannebecker, however, surely was not a Mennonite until late in

life, if at all, since he had his children baptized at Skippack as infants by an itinerant Reformed pastor. The writer would be inclined to accept as Mennonites Hans Peter Umstat, Heivert Papen, Dirck Sellen, Heinrich Kasselberg, Paul Engel, Hans Graf, Willem Hosters, Jan Streypers, Isaac Karsdorp, Abraham Op den Graeff (at least after his settlement in Skippack in 1704), Herman Op den Graeff, Herman Tunes, and Cornelius Tyson.

The composition of the Mennonite group in Germantown, including those whose names are not on the official list, was somewhat heterogeneous, containing as it did at least four distinct types, the Crefeld-Lower Rhine group, the Dutch group, the Hamburg-Altona group, and the Palatinate group. In the lists given below an attempt will be made to classify the membership into the four groups, arranged according to year of arrival. The Crefeld-Lower Rhine group was the oldest and largest element in the congregation. In this group are included not only those coming from the city of Crefeld, but those from Mülheim on the Ruhr, Goch, and the County of Brugge. The starred names appear on the Edwards list.

## I

### Crefeld-Lower Rhine Group: 24 Families

1. Crefeld: 16 Families

* Jan Lensen, Oct. 6, 1683.
Abraham Op den Graeff, Oct. 6, 1683.
Herman Op den Graeff, Oct. 6, 1683.

* Isaac Jacobs van Bebber, 1684.
Jacob Telner, 1685, with wife and children, returned to London in 1698.
Hans Peter Umstat, Oct. 12, 1685 (with wife Barbara, d. Aug. 12, 1702, son John, daughter Anna Margaretha, d. Feb. 10, 1696, and daughter Eve, m. Hendrick Pannebecker, 1699).
Klas Jansen, 1685.

* Jacob Isaacs van Bebber, 1687.
Jan Streypers, 1687.

* Jan Neuss, 1600 (1698?).
Paulus Kuster, by 1693 (d. 1707), with wife, Gertrude Streypers, and sons, Arnold, Hermannus, and Johannes.

* Hendrick Sellen, by 1688.
Willem Hosters, 1702.
Hans Neuss, by 1702 (withdrew soon).
Cornelius Tyson, 1703 (d. 1716).
Dirck Sellen (date of arrival uncertain).

2. Lower Rhine: 3 Families
   * William Rittenhouse, 1688, born in Mongowerland at Broich, near Mülheim on the Ruhr, became a citizen of Amsterdam in 1678; with wife, two sons, Gerhard and Claes, and daughter, Elizabeth, m. Heivert Papen.
   Hendrick Kasselberg, by 1691, from Backersdorf in the country of Brugge.
   * Jacob Godschalk and wife, 1702, from Goch.

3. Uncertain Origin, probably from the Lower Rhine: 5 Families
   Heivert Papen, 1685, probably from Mülheim on the Ruhr, d. February 19, 1707, m. to Elizabeth, daughter of Wm. Rittenhouse.
   Paul Engel, before 1698.
   * Conrad Jansen, before 1707.
   * John Krey, before 1702.
   * Herman Tunes, (date uncertain).

## II

### Hamburg-Altona Group: 6 Families

1. All immigrants left Altona on March 5, 1700: 4 Families
   * Harmen Karsdorp, Jr., wife Adriana de Voss, and children.
   * Isaac van Sintern, wife Cornelia Classen, and daughters, Magdalena and Sarah, d. Aug. 23, 1737, buried at Skippack.
   Heinrich van Sintern.
   Paul Roosen and wife Anna, returned to Hamburg soon after arriving.
   Claes Berends and wife Tryntje, probably returned in 1705, when their land was sold.
   * Cornelius Klassen, father-in-law of Isaac van Sintern, (date uncertain).

2. Uncertain Origin, probably Hamburg-Altona: 2 Families
   Isaac Karsdorp, 1700 (died before 1708, married widow of Willem Hosters, cf. Cassel, D. K., *Kulp Family History*, p. 431).
   * Arnold van Vossen, 1700.

## III

### The Palatinate Group: 5 Families

1. Wolfsheim: 1 Family
   * Martin Kolb. (The first three Kolbs were unmarried before their arrival.)
   * John Kolb
   * Jacob Kolb

Henry Kolb

* Barbara Kolb. (There is no trace of a sister of the Kolb brothers by this name. She may have been the wife of Henry Kolb, married after arrival.)

2. Uncertain Origin: 4 Families

* Hendrik Kassel. (A Hendrick Kassel from the Palatinate was baptized in 1694 in the church at Hamburg-Altona, cf. Roosen, B. K., *Geschichte der Mennoniten-Gemeinde zu Hamburg und Altona,* 1886, I, p. 59.)

* Wynant Bowman

Hans Graf

Gerhard Clemens, 1709

## IV

### The Netherlands Group: 2 Families

Dirck Keyser, 1688, from Amsterdam, d. Nov. 30, 1714.

Peter Keyser, son of Dirck, 1688, from Amsterdam, joined the Dunkards in 1719.

The brief account of the origin of the Mennonite Church in Germantown given by Morgan Edwards states that the first Germantown Mennonites came from New York. "Some Mennonite families were in the Province as early as 1692 who came hither from the New York government which at first belonged to the Dutch and was called New Netherlands, extending from the River Delaware to the River of Connecticut. They settled in the neighborhood now called Germantown, Frankford, etc. Other families soon followed and after them many came directly from Europe, in so much that in May, 1708, there was a church settled at Germantown consisting of 52 members which exists to this day, and is not only the first in the province but in a sort the mother of all the rest."[7]

Where Edwards derived his information about the first Mennonites coming from New York to Germantown is uncertain. As can readily be seen from the discussion thus far, it is impossible that Edwards is right. Jacob Telner, it is true, came to New York first in the autumn of 1684 before going on to Germantown in the following spring of 1685, but he had previous contacts there. It is also true that a Rittenhouse family tradition, as reported in the memoirs of David Rittenhouse, edited by Barton, states that Wm. Rittenhouse and his family first came to New

7. Quoted in the *Mennonite Yearbook and Almanac* for 1909, p. 19.

York before coming to Germantown in 1688. Pennypacker also asserts that the Rittenhouses first emigrated to New York and only moved to Germantown because there was no printer in New York,[8] although he fails to explain that there was still less chance of finding a printer in Germantown. But even if both Telner and Rittenhouse came to Germantown via New York, the Edwards theory of the New York origin of the first Germantown Mennonite settlers is untenable in the face of contrary evidence.

How did it come about that this mixed company of about forty Mennonite families from so many different localities came together at Germantown in the 25 years between 1683 and 1708? The account of Jacob Gottschalk does not give any explanation, but merely recites the facts. There is no extant contemporary expression by the settlers themselves, or any other contemporary for that matter. Before analyzing the development of the settlement, however, the chronological order of events connected with the settlement must be fixed. For the sake of clarity and brevity these events are herewith given in chronological tabular form[9].

## Outline of Events in the Settlement of Germantown

1678-1681—Jacob Telner visits New York and Pennsylvania at least once.[10]

1677, July to October—William Penn travels in Holland and Germany, coming in contact, among others, with Mennonites in Rotterdam, Haarlem, Leyden, Utrecht, Amsterdam, and Friesland, visiting the small Quaker community in Kriegsheim in the Palatinate near Worms, founded 1657, and visiting also in Frankfurt a. M., the so-called "Saalhof" group of Pietists.[11]

1680, June 24—William Penn petitions King Charles II of England for a grant of land in what is now Pennsylvania, in payment of a debt of 16,000 pounds inherited from his father, the noted Admiral William Penn.

1681, March 14—William Penn receives the royal charter granting him the proprietorship of 40,000 square miles of land, now called Pennsylvania.

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8. *Settlement of Germantown*, p. 162.

9. The sources chiefly relied upon are: M. D. Learned, *Life of Francis Daniel Pastorius*, Philadelphia, 1908; S. W. Pennypacker, *The Settlement of Germantown*, Philadelphia, 1899, and C. Henry Smith, *The Mennonite Immigration to Pennsylvania*, Norristown, 1929.

10. Seidensticker, Oswald, "William Penn's Travels in Holland and Germany in 1677", in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 1878, pp. 237-282.

11. Learned, M. D., *The Life of Pastorius*, Philadelphia, 1908, p. 122.

1681—German and Dutch editions of Penn's English pamphlet advertising Pennsylvania are published in Amsterdam by Benjamin Furly, Quaker friend of Penn and his agent in Europe for the sale of Pennsylvania land.

1682, March 9 and 10—Jacob Telner of Crefeld, Jan Streypers of Kaldenkirchen nearby, and Dirck Sipman of Crefeld, each secure a deed for 5,000 acres of land in Pennsylvania, signed by Penn personally and executed in London. (For details see Learned, *Pastorius*, p. 122.)

1682, Sept. 1—William Penn sails on his first voyage to America, returning to England two years later, Oct. 2, 1684.

1682, Nov. 18—Francis Daniel Pastorius returns to Frankfurt a. M. after an extended absence on a European tour which began June 26, 1680, and learns for the first time of the decision of his pietistic friends in Frankfurt to buy 15,000 acres of land of Penn in Pennsylvania and their plans to emigrate thither.

1683, January 24—First letter from James Claypoole, of London, England to Benj. Furly in Rotterdam, Penn's agent, concerning prospective settlers for Pennsylvania.

1683, March—Pastorius spends a week in Kriegsheim visiting with Peter Shoemaker, Gerhard Hendricks, Arnold Kassel, and others, and takes with him to America several servants, including Jacob Shoemaker.

1683, April 2—Pastorius leaves Frankfurt for Pennsylvania with power of attorney for the Frankfurt Company and authorization to buy 15,000 acres of land for them.

1683, April 11—Pastorius stops at Crefeld and "speaks to Dennis Kunders and wife, Dirk, Herman, and Abraham Op den Graeff, etc., who with many others came about six weeks after me to Pennsylvania."

1683, April 16—Pastorius arrives at Rotterdam and confers with Benjamin Furly, Jacob Telner, and others.

1683, May 4—Pastorius sails from Rotterdam and arrives on May 8 in London.

1683, June 6—Pastorius leaves London for Pennsylvania after having bought 15,000 acres of land for the Frankfurt Company.

1683, June 5—Claypoole's letter to Benjamin Furly for first time mentions "the people from Crefeld", indicating that he had received from Furly a list of thirty-three passengers (full fares) for the voyage to Philadelphia with him on the ship "Concord".

1683, June 7—Jan Lensen and Jan Streypers enter into a contract regarding land in Pennsylvania.

1683, June 10-11—Govert Remke, Leonhard Arets, and Jacob Isaacs van Bebber each secure a deed for 1,000 acres of land in Pennsylvania from Benjamin Furly, executed in Rotterdam.

1683, June 18—The thirteen Crefeld emigrant families accompanied by Jacob Telner, Dirck Sipman, and Jan Streypers, are in Rotterdam. The three brothers Op den Graeff purchase 2,000 acres

from Telner, Jan Streypers sells 200 acres each to Siemens and Keurlis, and 100 acres to his brother Willem Streypers, while Benjamin Furly as agent for the Frankfurt Company sells 200 acres each to Bleikers and Lucken.

1683, July 24—The entire party of 33 set sail on the good ship "Concord" at Gravesend for Pennsylvania.

1683, October 6—The "Concord" arrives at Philadelphia.

1683, October 24—The site of the Germantown colony is selected and the name chosen.

1684, November 6—Isaac Jacobs van Bebber, son of Jacob, is in Germantown.

1684, December 12—Before this date Jacob Telner has arrived in New York and visited Germantown and Philadelphia, but has returned to New York for the winter with his family, settling finally in Germantown in the spring of 1685.

1685, May 8—Peter Shoemaker, Gerhard Hendricks, and Hans Peter Kassel of Kriegsheim near Worms, petition the Elector Palatine for permission to emigrate.[12]

1685, August 15—Peter Shoemaker and Gerhard Hendricks each buy 200 acres of Pennsylvania land from Dirck Sipman in Crefeld.

1685, October 12—Peter Shoemaker, Gerhard Hendricks, also Hans Peter Umstat of Crefeld, arrive in Germantown.

1686, March 20—Johannes Cassel and family, the last of the Kriegsheim Quakers, together with widow Sarah Shoemaker and family, arrive in Germantown.

1686, May 6—Stephen Crisp, who had founded the Quaker group at Crefeld in 1667 and re-visited them in 1677 and 1680, reports to the Amsterdam Quaker Yearly Meeting, which had been organized in 1683 and had charge of all the Quaker groups in Holland and Germany, that the Quaker meetings in Crefeld and the Palatinate had been discontinued since all the members had emigrated to Pennsylvania.[13]

What is the picture of the emigration to and founding of Germantown and the part the Mennonites have in it which results from a careful study of the above facts?

Jacob Telner, a Crefeld Mennonite merchant of considerable wealth, who had business connections in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and London, and who had made at least one trip to America before 1682, had come into friendly contact with the Quakers, probably both in Holland and London, as well as in Crefeld. He appears to have been the moving spirit in the emigration of the Crefeld

12. Hubben, Wilhelm, *Die Quaker in der deutschen Vergangenheit*, Leipzig, 1929, p. 71 f.

13. Smith, C. F., *Stephen Crisp and His Correspondents* 1657-1692, London, 1892, p. 18, cited by Hubben, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

group to Pennsylvania. He may have become interested in Pennsylvania through contacts in London directly, or through Benjamin Furly, Penn's agent in Rotterdam. Or he may have read Penn's pamphlet advertising Pennsylvania published in 1681. As early as March, 1682, he had persuaded two of his Crefeld friends, Dirck Sipman and Jan Streypers of nearby Kaldenkirchen, to invest in Pennsylvania land with him for the purpose of establishing a colony. That the purpose of the investment was colonization and not speculation is evident from the fact that an agreement of at least one of the three (Sipman) with Penn stipulated that a certain number of families should be settled on the land within a certain time. In the course of a year or so the three men had succeeded in arousing sufficient interest in the project among their friends and neighbors in Crefeld to get a party of thirteen families together for the venture. Three additional men of wealth in Crefeld, Leonard Arets, Govert Remke, and Jacob van Bebber, the latter a Mennonite, assisted in the movement by buying additional land for the colony at the time of the emigration. Most of the original thirteen families, if not all, were poor people who had scarcely enough funds to reach Pennsylvania and make the start in the new world.

Apparently, although Telner himself was a Mennonite as was van Bebber, most of the original party of thirty-three who constituted the first contingent were Mennonites who had either accepted Quakerism in Crefeld since 1667 or were so much under the influence of it that their Mennonitism was quite diluted. However, the Crefeld Mennonite interest in the Germantown movement continued for another fifteen years after the last Crefeld Quaker family had departed (probably in the fall of 1685), so that eventually about twenty-five Mennonite families from Crefeld and the Lower Rhine region reached Germantown. Scarcely more than fifteen Crefeld Quaker families altogether reached Pennsylvania and these few were quickly absorbed and assimilated into the already well-established English Quakerism of Pennsylvania, and thus ceased to maintain an independent existence.

On the contrary, the Mennonite group organized itself within the first ten years, and with the aid of later immigrants maintained its identity for many generations. It was a Crefeld Mennonite, Isaac van Bebber, an immigrant of 1684, in whose house the first Mennonite meetings in Germantown were held. It was a Crefeld Mennonite, Jan Neuss, who was the first and only deacon in the Germantown church for at least fifteen years. It was William

Rittenhouse, a Mennonite from nearby Broich, adjoining Mülheim on the Ruhr, who was the first preacher. It was Jacob Gottschalk, a Mennonite from nearby Goch, who became the first bishop in America and was the leader of the Mennonite church in Skippack and Germantown for sixty years. It is not so important to know how many of the first thirteen families in Germantown were Mennonite when they left Crefeld, and remained loyal Mennonites in Germantown, or how many finally apostasized into Quakerism, as it is important to know that from the beginning, starting with Jacob Telner, the Germantown colony was chiefly a Mennonite project, with a Mennonite background.

Why the fifty or more Crefeld-Lower Rhine Mennonite and Quaker-Mennonite families left the homeland for Germantown between 1683 and 1708 is easy to say. The religious and economic pressure under which they suffered, due to the vigorous opposition of the state church and political authorities, at times more severe than others, made many willing to consider pioneering in Pennsylvania. For in Pennsylvania a government had been established which promised religious tolerance and a free life under conditions most congenial to the Mennonite and Mennonite-Quaker faith, as well as enticing opportunities for economic prosperity and an escape from the uncertain though heavy burdens of warfare and taxation imposed by the petty German principalities upon their subjects. The general principles under which Penn proposed to conduct his colony were well known to Benjamin Furly and certainly to Telner, and were without doubt made known by them to the Crefeld friends. Penn's "Frame of Government" was published in 1682. The several pamphlets issued by Penn in 1681 and 1684, and by Pastorius later describing Pennsylvania and Penn's principles had considerable circulation in both Dutch and German. The first arrivals naturally reported their favorable impressions to the friends back in the homeland. The peace-loving, non-resistant Christians of Crefeld and the Lower Rhine region knew that Penn was determined to operate a Christian state, free of war and the oath, in which an attempt would be made to establish a democratic Christian state whose religious life should be patterned after the apostolic church. They knew at least something of the nature of Penn's "Holy Experiment", and they found in Pennsylvania a haven of peace and tolerance, provided by Providence.

However, the oft-repeated assertions, which may be found in even the best histories, that William Penn personally invited the Mennonites to come to Pennsylvania, are quite without sub-

stantial foundation. No documentary proof of such invitation has ever been cited. We have seen that Penn's visit to Germany in 1677 occurred before he received the grant of Pennsylvania. There is no evidence that he was personally acquainted with any individual Mennonite in Crefeld, the Lower Rhine, the Palatinate, or Hamburg-Altona, except possibly Jacob Telner, whom he probably met in Holland or London. There is no trace of any correspondence between Penn and any Mennonites who came to America or any Mennonites who lived in Germany. In the pamphlets published in behalf of the colonization of Pennsylvania by Penn and his agents, not the slightest reference is made to the Mennonites. So good as none of the Mennonites of Holland where Penn had visited several of the Mennonite congregations and was personally acquainted with Mennonite leaders and individual members ever came to Pennsylvania.

In the face of this complete lack of evidence it is strange that the usually cautious Pennypacker takes over uncritically the statements of uncritical Mennonite writers on this point.[14] He quotes B. K. Roosen in his booklet on *Gerhard Roosen*, Hamburg, 1854, who makes the flat assertion[15] that "William Penn had invited the Mennonites in 1683 to settle in Pennsylvania. Soon many from the Netherlands migrated thither and settled in and around Germantown. Palatines followed them and in 1700 many members of the congregation here emigrated thither by way of Holland." That Roosen was very poorly informed can be seen from the fact that all three of his major assertions are untenable. Penn did not invite the Mennonites, practically no Mennonites from the Netherlands emigrated, instead of "many", and only a very few from Hamburg-Altona found their way to Germantown.

A similar citation by Pennypacker from an article by J. F. Funk on the "First Mennonite Church in America", which appeared in Funk's *Family Almanac* for 1875, is also wholly without documentary evidence. Funk refers to Penn's tour in Germany and Holland in 1677 and assumes that on this journey he "no doubt became acquainted with the Mennonites." "It is quite probable," he continues, "that he then already encouraged them to emigrate to the New World. Be this as it may, upon an invitation from Penn to our distressed forefathers in the faith, it is said a number of them emigrated either from Holland or the Palatinate, and settled in Germantown in 1683, and there established the first

14. S. W. Pennypacker, *The Settlement of Germantown*, Philadelphia, 1899, p. 17 f.

15. B. K. Roosen, *Gerhard Roosen*, Hamburg, 1854, p. 60 (translated).

Mennonite Church in America." The entire account of Funk is clearly based on inference and hearsay. The similar assertion by I. D. Rupp in his *History of Berks County*, p. 423, cited by Pennypacker, is wholly unsubstantiated. Even the latest and best account of the settlement of Germantown, given by Dr. C. Henry Smith in his *Mennonite Immigration to Pennsylvania*, makes the following unsubstantiated assertion[16]: "Since the first settlers of Germantown were all originally of Mennonite stock [true!], and since they came upon invitation of William Penn [not proved!], who had paid them several visits in their homes before they came to America [not true!]."

It simply cannot be proved on the basis of any material as yet brought to light that Penn ever invited any Mennonites to come to Pennsylvania in connection with the early settlement of Germantown, and it cannot be shown that he ever visited Crefeld before 1686 or "paid them several visits in their homes in Germany and Holland before they came to America."[17] The only homes of later Germantown settlers that Penn ever visited were the homes of the Kriegsheim Quakers whom he visited in 1677, three years before he applied for the grant of Pennsylvania. It would seem proper, therefore, to omit from the history of Germantown and the coming of the early Mennonites to America, the legend of Penn's visits to the Mennonites in Germany and his invitation to them to settle in Pennsylvania, at least until such a time as substantial documentary evidence has been adduced in support of it.

Now it happened that William Penn's Pennsylvania made a similar appeal to a group of Pietists in Frankfurt a. M., the so-called "Saalhof" group, with whom Penn and Furly had become

16. C. Henry Smith, *The Mennonite Immigration to Pennsylvania*, Norristown, 1929, p. 75.

17. Wilhelm Hubben in his excellent monograph, *Die Quaker in der deutschen Vergangenheit*, Leipzig, 1929, says (translated), "The assertion made by various writers such as Kapp, Seidensticker and Croon, that Penn was in Crefeld in 1670 or 1671 has no support in Penn's own reports, neither is it ever supported by documentary evidence by any of the above-named writers." Penn's own journal of his tour of 1677, published in 1694, which describes his journey in detail, nowhere refers to a visit in Crefeld on this journey, nor any contacts with Mennonites in this region. Seidensticker's account of "William Penn's Travels in Holland and Germany in 1677" as given at great length in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. II, 1878, pp. 237-282, makes it plain that Penn could not have stopped in Crefeld. The route from Frankfurt a. M. to Holland was by boat to Cologne and Duisburg, thence to Mülheim. From there the journey went partly on foot, by way of Wesel and Emmerich to Cleve, Nimwegen, Utrecht, and Amsterdam. By this route the nearest distance to Crefeld would have been from Duisburg, about 20 miles away, since Crefeld was not on the direct route along the river as Smith suggests (*Op. Cit.*, p. 78).

personally acquainted during the tour of 1677, and with whom Furly communicated at an early date after Penn received the proprietorship of his new colony. Independently of, and unknown to, and later than Telner and the Crefeld group, members of this group also decided late in 1682 to establish a colony in Pennsylvania and proceeded to organize a company to purchase the necessary land and operate the colony. A well-educated and zealous young member of the group who first heard of the project in late November or early December, 1682, Francis Daniel Pastorius, was, however, the only one of the group ever to reach Pennsylvania. His significance has been over-emphasized in the history of the emigration. He was by no means the leader of the Crefeld group, and was not even a leading spirit in the Frankfurt group, but merely an agent. Through Benjamin Furly, no doubt, he learned of the little Quaker group in Kriegsheim near Worms, who were considering emigrating to Pennsylvania. In the same way he must have learned of the plans of the Crefeld group. Therefore, before he set out for America on April 2, 1683, as the agent of the Frankfurt Company to prepare for their colonization, he first went to Kriegsheim and took with him from there several servants, although the main group did not come until two years later. On April 2, 1683, then, he left Frankfurt for America. On the way he stopped for a few days at Crefeld, where, according to his own testimony, he conferred with Thones Kunders and the Op den Graeffs. In Rotterdam he met Jacob Telner. However, except for some small purchases of land from the Frankfurt Company's holdings in Germantown, made by a few of the Crefeld settlers, there were no significant relationships of any sort between the Crefeld group and the Frankfurt group.

It is permissible to suppose that when Telner, the representative of the Crefeld group, conferred with Pastorius in Rotterdam, in May, 1683, it was agreed upon by them that their two groups would attempt to locate together in a common colony, since both were Germans, and that it was also agreed that Pastorius would await the arrival of the Crefeld group. This is exactly what happened. Pastorius waited in Philadelphia until the Crefelders arrived. They then together located the site of the new colony. Pastorius as the man of the world, the man of education, the lawyer, and as perhaps the most aggressive personality in the group, became the political and public leader of the group. But it was the craftsmen from Crefeld and Kriegsheim who did the actual pioneering while Pastorius waited in Philadelphia for the new town to spring forth from the hard earth. Had it not been

for the Crefelders, the Frankfurt Company's dreams of a colony in America would have been merely one more disillusionment, and Pastorius but a young zealot stranded on a foreign shore far from friends and home, for not a single member of the Frankfurt Company ever came to America, and apparently none of the Germantown settlers were secured through their agency.

The services of Pastorius to the new colony need not be minimized in any respect; they were many, varied, and valuable. But, after all, Germantown was founded by Mennonites and Mennonite-Quakers from Crefeld and the Lower Rhine territory, with some slight help from Kriegsheim, and was not established by Pastorius and the Frankfurt Company.

The little party of four or more families of Mennonites from Hamburg-Altona, who arrived in 1700 and furnished some needed new blood of a more aggressive type to the struggling little Mennonite congregation in Germantown probably did not come because of persecution but because of interest in the economic possibilities of the New World, for there was toleration in Hamburg at this time. Half of the group returned in a short time to Altona, one of the families going on to South Russia. The other half of the group furnished a preacher and a deacon to the Germantown Mennonite congregation within a few years.

The few families who came from Holland directly, such as the Keysers, likewise did not come because of persecution but for the sake of economic advantage or purely personal reasons.

However, the group which came from the Palatinate in 1707, and which was the forerunner of the great Mennonite immigration from the Palatinate and Switzerland in the next several decades, certainly came because of persecution. Conditions in the Palatinate were bad and were becoming worse, particularly under the line of Catholic rulers which was established in 1685. However, the immediate occasion for the migration of the little group of Palatines in 1707 to Germantown lay in the fact that Peter Schumacher, the father of the mother of the four young unmarried Kolb brothers of Wolfsheim, near Mannheim, who constituted the core of the 1707 Palatinate group, had been living in Germantown for more than twenty years and had been prospering. It was this family connection, no doubt, that brought the Kolbs to Germantown.

The intermingling of the religious and the economic motives in the migration of the Mennonites from Germany to Pennsylvania before the Revolutionary War is well expressed in the letter of 1773 sent by the Mennonites of Franconia to Holland in reply

to a request for information on this very point among other things. The writers of the letter say:

"The reasons that have induced so many of our fellow believers to come to us are various. It can be given as one reason that William Penn, the lord of this land, having received great freedom from the King of Great Britain, made it known to people everywhere. Now, in many places in Europe, the inhabitants were not only hard pressed by being compelled to pay heavy taxes, but also they did not enjoy sufficient freedom to serve God according to the considerations of their conscience. And so many preferred to undertake the difficult and long journey to come to us.

"Upon coming to this country, they not only enjoy great freedom, but also find that the land is fruitful and that everything of which a farmer has need it produces to overflowing—if he will only work. We have no want of food or raiment, and there are among us even people who are rich. Some, in writing these things to their friends in Europe, and others who have made the journey to Germany for merchandise, have much—yes, too much—extolled the country and given such inducements that many have come here for worldly profit. Other reasons we pass by."[18]

Under the influence of the more aggressive Quakers, the at first numerically weaker and more passive Mennonite group in Germantown experienced some difficulty in maintaining itself. At first, in spite of some disagreements (says Gottschalk in his account as given at the beginning of this discussion), the Mennonites and Quakers, in fact, the entire community, worshipped together. For three years services were held in the house of Thones Kunders. In 1686, as Pastorius relates, the settlers "built a church for the community, but have not cultivated outward appearances by erecting a great stone edifice, that the Temple of God (which we believers are ourselves) may the rather be erected."[19] However, this situation was not satisfactory to the Mennonites and as early as 1690, as the Varick letter shows, they were meeting separately, though without a preacher. In 1690 (or 1698), or shortly thereafter, stimulated by fresh arrivals from Crefeld and elsewhere, the congregation which had been worshipping, according to Gottschalk, in the house of Isaac Jacobs van Bebber, decided to organize in the regular way and choose by election a preacher and deacon, which was done, William Rittenhouse being chosen preacher, and Jan Neuss, deacon. According to Gottschalk's account, the choice was made by a straight election. However, a

18. *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, III, 1929, p. 228.
19. *Pa. German Society Proceedings*, XI, p. 71.

peculiar tradition that the first preacher was chosen through casting of the lot by ministers in Europe was still current in Franconia as late as 1839, as reported in Jacob Krehbiel's letter to his friends in the Palatinate in 1841.[20] The Krehbiel account runs as follows: "Among all the members of the Germantown congregation at the above-named time there was no one who had previously been chosen as preacher by lot. Since they wished to follow strictly our traditional regulations in this matter, they were not willing to ordain a preacher on their own authority. They went only so far as to take votes for a preacher. These votes they sent across the ocean to their old home in Europe to their brethren in the faith with the request that their preachers cast the lot and then ordain the minister thus chosen, whereupon they were to send back to America a report of their work. This took place and accordingly the first preacher of the Mennonites was chosen several thousand miles distant from the congregation, in another part of the world, a procedure which should be well recorded in history because of its unusualness. Among those who told me this story was a bishop of Lower Salford, named Lederach, who said that the documents dealing with this matter were still preserved in Germantown."

Just what kernel of truth there is in this tradition is hard to say. It is, of course, possible that Rittenhouse was ordained in this fashion, in which case the work was probably done by the ministers at Crefeld. We read that Hendrick Sellen made a trip to Crefeld in 1698, and if we are to take the year 1698 as the correct date for the organization of the church, rather than 1690, he might have been the man to carry the matter to the church in Crefeld and bring back the reply. However, it is more likely that the tradition refers to the choice of a bishop, or an attempt to choose one. The unsuccessful request of 1702 for help from the church at Hamburg-Altona in ordaining a bishop is familiar. This might have given rise to the tradition. A still more likely case is the somewhat obscure statement in the letter of September, 1708,[21] which states that Peter Kolb had been chosen to select a bishop. It is possible that votes were taken for bishop in 1708 and sent to Peter Kolb, Mennonite bishop in Mannheim, and an elder brother of the Germantown Kolbs, and that in consequence Jacob Gottschalk was chosen bishop. However, there is not the least positive proof that this was actually done, and it may be necessary

20. *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, VI, 1932, p. 50. The term "Franconia" refers to the Mennonite congregations in Chester, Montgomery, Berks, and Bucks counties which are organized into the Franconia Conference.

21. Pennypacker, *Op. Cit.*, p. 133.

to surrender all hope of identifying the reference in the tradition reported by Krehbiel.

The exact time of the election of Rittenhouse and Neuss is not stated anywhere, although it has erroneously been assumed that the year 1690 (1698) mentioned in Gottschalk's account was the year of the ordination. A closer examination reveals that this is not necessarily the case. The first certain Germantown ordination date is that of the second ordination in 1702, when Gottschalk and Hans Neuss were installed as preachers.

The next step in the development of the congregation came with the arrival of the Palatinate group in 1707. Gottschalk says that they kept themselves separate for an entire year, possibly out of caution, not knowing the exact character of the faith and practice of the low German-Dutch type of Mennonitism which had been established in Germantown, or possibly because of dissatisfaction with the existing organization and conditions. The preachers, both Rittenhouse and Gottschalk, read sermons from books, and did not preach ex tempore sermons of their own composition. There had been no baptism in the church since its organization and probably no observance of the Lord's Supper. William Rittenhouse had written to Europe early in 1707 for advice as to what to do about baptizing certain candidates who had offered themselves, and had received a reply, dated in April, 1707, apparently counselling him to proceed with baptism even though he was not a fully ordained bishop.[22] However, he had not gathered sufficient courage to do so before his death on February 18, 1708.

With the death of Rittenhouse the way was cleared for a reorganization of the Germantown Mennonite church life, and the year 1708 became an epoch-making year in the history of the little congregation in Germantown. First of all the Palatinate group joined hands with the older group. In rapid succession following this the various steps in building the new organization were completed. First on March 22, 1708, three new deacons were chosen in addition to Jan Neuss. A month later, on the 20th of April, two new preachers were chosen. Thereupon it was decided to proceed to receive the candidates for membership by baptism who had applied for this a considerable time before, probably in 1706, and Jacob Gottschalk performed the ceremony. This was the first Mennonite baptismal service in America, twen-

22. The writer has shown elsewhere (*Mennonite Quarterly Review*, XII, January, 1933) that there is no ground for the assumption that Rittenhouse was ever ordained bishop. See the article entitled "Was William Rittenhouse the First Mennonite Bishop in America?"

ty-five years after the arrival of the first Mennonite, when eleven candidates were baptized. On the 23rd of May, the Lord's Supper was celebrated, also probably for the first time in America. During the same year, before September, a log meeting-house was erected on land given to the congregation for that purpose by Arnold von Vossen as early as 1702.

The reason for the long-continued neglect of the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper in the early years of the life of the Germantown Mennonite church is not hard to find. First, there was no ordained bishop to officiate at the ceremonies, which according to strict Mennonite tradition, could not be performed by a mere preacher. However, a more cogent explanation is probably to be found in the influence and example of the Quakers, who were strictly opposed in principle to the outward observance of all ordinances, in particular baptism and the Lord's Supper.

But finally the indifference, or the obstacles, were overcome, and the year 1708, twenty-five years after the coming of the first permanent Mennonite settlers to America, marks the beginning of a new era in the life of the Mennonite Church in America, when full, normal church life was inaugurated. Gottschalk reports that after the union of the older group and the newer Palatinate group in 1708, the membership included thirty-four persons and that the addition of eleven by baptism increased the number to forty-five, which was further increased to ninety-nine by April 6, 1712. Who were the original thirty-four, who were the eleven baptized additions, and who were the fifty-four new members added between 1708 and 1712, to more than double the number of members, is difficult to determine. Gottschalk mentions that new accessions were received in 1709 from the Palatinate but does not say how many. We know of only one definitely—Gerhard Clemens, who arrived in 1709. Perhaps there was a considerable number of baptisms of younger people, children of the older Mennonite families. Perhaps even some of the former Mennonites who had followed after Quakerism were reclaimed, since the church was growing stronger and the Quaker influence was certainly declining, particularly in the Skippack settlement which was established in 1702, and to which a number of the leading Germantown families now moved, among them Preacher Martin Kolb in 1709, and Bishop Jacob Gottschalk himself in 1712.

The founding of the Mennonite Church in America was begun in 1683 at Germantown with the arrival of the first Mennonite, but it was truly not achieved until the celebration of the first baptism, and also of the first Lord's Supper, May 23rd, 1708.

# ATTENDANCE AT MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES IN 1932-33

Silas Hertzler

Attendance statistics for the Mennonite schools and colleges of the United States and Canada covering the school year 1932-33 are herewith presented. Attendance data for the summer of 1932 are included as of the school year 1932-33.

The number of institutions reporting is four less than for the school year 1931-32. This is in part due to consolidations and decreased attendance, though some of the schools not reporting still exist. For this school year the Hillsboro Bible Academy is reported as in previous years, though it has become a part of the academy of Tabor College. The institutions sending reports this time are: Bluffton College, Bluffton, Ohio; Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana; Bethel College, Newton, Kansas; Eastern Mennonite School, Harrisonburg, Virginia; Hesston College and Bible School, Hesston, Kansas; Ontario Mennonite Bible School, Kitchener, Ontario; Corn Bible School and Academy, Corn, Oklahoma; Freeman Junior College, Freeman, South Dakota; German-English Academy, Rosthern, Saskatchewan; Oklahoma Bible Academy, Meno, Oklahoma; Hillsboro Bible Academy, Hillsboro, Kansas; Mennonite Collegiate Institute, Gretna, Manitoba; and the Mennonite Bible Academy, Beatrice, Nebraska.

As in previous years, the report this time arranges the institutions in the order of attendance, the institution with the largest attendance being listed first. All tables except Table XII are arranged with this fact in mind, so the order of institutions may be different in each case. Two tables which have not appeared previously are being added. It was thought that it would be of interest to some students to know how many of the Mennonite students were of college grade, and how many were not. Tables VIII and IX indicate these facts. The numbering of the remaining tables was adjusted to this addition.

Total enrollment, as indicated in Table I, is less than at any time since the school year 1929-30. The decrease has been most marked in the academy or high school courses, though there has been a decrease of over 100 college students. Part of this apparent loss is due to the fact that no statistics were received from Tabor College for this report.

Tables II and III indicate more or less consistently the smaller attendance by classes. In the college classes the only group not to show a decrease, was the freshman year. Here there was a slight increase in attendance due to the larger freshman classes at Bethel and at Goshen. For this school year Hesston did not offer college courses at all, except that extension work was given to care for the needs of six students. But three institutions in the church now grant degrees, with a few college courses being given in five other institutions. Three of these are well organized junior colleges. The decline in academy attendance seems to be due to increased attendance in the public high schools of the home communities where Mennonite students live, rather than to a lessening of interest in secondary school work.

The decreased attendance of Mennonite students needs careful study. This decrease has been approximately 200 each year for two successive years. Table IV indicates that almost eighty percent of the total number come from the main group of (old) Mennonites, and from the General Conference of Mennonites. Six other Mennonite groups are represented this year, with more students coming from the Central Conference of Mennonites than from any other of the smaller groups.

Detailed consideration of non-Mennonite students is given in Table V. It will be noticed that the decrease of attendance in this group of students is less than in the case of Mennonites. Twenty Christian denominations are represented. The group of non-church members is considerably less than in the report for 1931-32. However, the number for whom no information was given increased over the previous report, and is exactly the same as for the school year 1930-31.

Tables VI and VII list the total student attendance by states, provinces, and countries. Mennonite students attend these schools from twenty-five states, from four Canadian provinces; and from Germany, India, and the Argentine. Non-Mennonite students have their homes in fourteen states, in three Canadian provinces, and in Cuba.

Tables VIII and IX were added to show the exact academic classification of the Mennonite students in all the schools studied. These statistics show that but 514 of the Mennonite students are in college, while 621 are of high school grade.

The three remaining tables, as in previous years, give details concerning attendance in summer school; the number of men and of women; and the degrees and diplomas given. Two of the

schools having had summer sessions discontinued such work for the summer of 1932, though this decreased the total attendance only fifty-one over the previous summer.

The proportion of men and of women students remains about as in previous reports. Three institutions only, have more men than women in attendance. These are the German-English Academy, the Mennonite Collegiate Institute, and the Oklahoma Bible Academy. The total number of women more than men in attendance is 135. All the schools are co-educational.

The total number of degrees granted increased slightly over the previous year, though this number is still below the reports for the immediately preceding years. The B. A. degree was granted at all the institutions granting degrees. The B. S. in Education degree is granted at Goshen only. No master's degrees have been granted since 1931, when one such degree was conferred. Bluffton, as in 1930, conferred one honorary D. D. degree.

Table I

Total Enrollment in Mennonite Schools and Colleges, 1932-33

| School | Total Enrlmnt | College | Acdmy | Bible | Other Depts. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bluffton | 321 | 265[1] | | | 56[2] |
| Goshen | 309 | 266 | 15 | 28[3] | |
| Bethel | 273 | 273[4] | | | |
| Eastern Mennonite School | 231 | 41 | 106 | 66[5] | 18[6] |
| Hesston College and Bible School | 123 | 6[7] | 61 | 56 | |
| Ontario Mennonite Bible School[8] | 116 | | | 116 | |
| Corn Bible School and Academy | 83 | | 83 | | |
| Freeman Junior College | 66 | 38 | 28 | | |
| German-Eng. Acad. (Rosthern) | 62 | | 52 | 10 | |
| Oklahoma Bible Academy | 28 | | 27 | 1 | |
| Hillsboro Bible Academy | 27 | | 27 | | |
| Mennonite Collegiate Institute | 22 | 17 | 5 | | |
| Beatrice | 12 | | 12 | | |
| Total | 1673 | 906 | 416 | 277 | 74 |

1. 36 of this number were summer school students, not counting duplicates.
2. 44 music students; 1 art student; 11 extension students.
3. Special Bible Term students for six weeks only.
4. 200 students during the regular school year; 73 summer school students.
5. Special Bible Term students for six weeks only.
6. Summer school students and extension students.
7. Extension students.
8. A regularly organized Bible school for 12 weeks annually.

## Table II

### Enrollment by Classes, College Students, 1932-33

| School | Seniors | Juniors | Sophomores | Freshmen | Specials | Summer | Unclassified | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bluffton | 45 | 39 | 56 | 74 | 15 | 36[1] | 56[2] | 321 |
| Bethel | 19 | 27 | 42 | 81 | 31 | 73 | | 273 |
| Goshen | 32 | 22 | 42 | 78 | 36 | 50[1] | 6[3] | 266 |
| E. M. S. | | 1 | 18 | 20 | 2 | | 15[4] | 56 |
| Freeman | | | 10 | 28 | | | | 38 |
| M. C. I. | | | | 17 | | | | 17 |
| Hesston | | | | | 6 | | | 6 |
| Totals | 96 | 89 | 168 | 298 | 90 | 159 | 77 | 977 |

1. Not including duplicates with the regular school year.
2. 44 music students; 1 art student; 11 extension students.
3. Graduate students.
4. Extension students.

## Table III

### Enrollment by Classes, Academy, Elementary Bible, and Other Students, Not of College Grade, 1932-33

| School | Seniors | Juniors | Sophomores | Freshmen | Bible | Summer | Unclassified | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| E. M. S. | 33 | 20 | 27 | 26 | 57[1] | 11 | 1 | 175 |
| Hesston | 18 | 13 | 8 | 16 | 56 | | 6 | 117 |
| Ontario | | | | | 116 | | | 116 |
| Corn | | | | | | | 83 | 83 |
| Rosthern | 16 | 14 | 7 | 15 | 10 | | | 62 |
| Goshen | 6 | 5 | 3 | 1 | 28 | | | 43 |
| Freeman | 5 | 9 | 5 | 9 | | | | 28 |
| Oklahoma | | | | | 1 | | 27 | 28 |
| Hillsboro[2] | | | | | | | 27 | 27 |
| Beatrice | | | 5 | 7 | | | | 12 |
| M. C. I. | | | | | | | 5 | 5 |
| Totals | 78 | 61 | 55 | 74 | 268 | 11 | 149 | 696 |

1. Not counting duplicates.
2. This school has been combined with the academy of Tabor College.

Table IV

MENNONITE STUDENTS IN MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, 1932-33

| Denomination | Goshen | E. M. S. | Bluffton | Bethel | Ontario | Hesston | Corn | Freeman | Rosthern | Hillsboro | Oklahoma | M. C. I. | Beatrice | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (Old) Mennonites | 195 | 148 | 5 | 2 | 103 | 93 | | | | | | | | 546 |
| Gen. Conference Mennonites | 3 | | 102 | 120 | | 16 | | 41 | 50 | | | 9 | 12 | 353 |
| Mennonites (Unclassified) | | 5[1] | | | 2[2] | | 83 | 7 | 3[3] | 27 | 27 | 5 | | 159 |
| Central Conference Mennonites | 15 | | 17 | | | | | | 4 | | | 5 | | 32 |
| Mennonite Brethren | | | 3 | 3 | | | | | | | | | | 15 |
| Amish Mennonites | | 4 | | | 10 | | | | | | | | | 14 |
| Krimmer Mennonite Brethren | | | | | | | | 10 | | | | | | 10 |
| Defenceless Mennonites | | | 1 | | | 2 | | | | | | | | 3 |
| Mennonite Brethren in Christ | 2 | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | 3 |
| Totals | 215 | 157 | 128 | 125 | 115 | 111 | 83 | 59 | 57 | 27 | 27 | 19 | 12 | 1135 |

1. Reported as "Swiss" Mennonites.

2. Members of the Sterling Avenue, Kitchener, Ontario, Mennonite church.

3. 1 reported unclassified, 2 reported "Old Colony".

Table V

NON-MENNONITE STUDENTS IN MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, 1932-33

| Denomination | Bluffton | Bethel | Goshen | E. M. S. | Hesston | Freeman | Rosthern | M. C. I. | Ontario | Oklahoma | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Statistics not given | 38 | 70 | 2 | 70[1] | | | 1[2] | | | 1 | 182 |
| Methodist Episcopal | 49 | 20 | 25 | 1 | 6 | | | | | | 101 |
| Presbyterian | 25 | 9 | 10 | | | | | 2 | 1 | | 47 |
| Reformed | 28 | | 3 | | | 1 | | | | | 32 |
| Roman Catholic | 7 | 10 | 1 | | | | | 1 | | | 19 |
| Congregational | 12 | 4 | 2 | | | | | | | | 18 |
| Lutheran | 7 | | 5 | | | 4 | 1 | | | | 17 |
| Brethren | | | 16 | | | | | | | | 16 |
| Evangelical | 3 | 5 | 4 | | 3 | | | | | | 15 |
| United Brethren | 7 | 4 | 3 | 1 | | | | | | | 15 |
| Christian | 2 | 7 | 5 | | | | | | | | 14 |
| Baptist | 3 | 4 | 1 | 2 | | | 2 | | | | 12 |
| Non-church members | | 1 | 6 | | 3 | 1 | | | | | 11 |
| Christian Science | 1 | 1 | 8 | | | | | | | | 10 |
| Episcopalian | 2 | 2 | 2 | | | | | | | | 6 |
| Nazarene | | 5 | | | | 1 | | | | | 6 |
| Unitarian | | 4 | | | | | | | | | 4 |
| Disciples of Christ | 3 | | | | | | | | | | 3 |
| Quaker | 2 | | 1 | | | | | | | | 3 |
| Methodist Protestant | 3 | | | | | | | | | | 3 |
| Church of God | | 2 | | | | | | | | | 2 |
| Swendenborgian | | | | | | | 1 | | | | 1 |
| Schwenkfelder | 1 | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Totals | 193 | 148 | 94 | 74 | 12 | 7 | 5 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 538 |

1. It seems probable that many of these students for whom church membership was unreported were special Bible term students, and members of the Mennonite Church.

2. Reported as a member of the "United" Church.

## Table VI

### States, Provinces, and Countries from which Mennonite Students Come, Mennonite Schools and Colleges, 1932-33

| States | Goshen | E. M. S. | Bluffton | Bethel | Ontario | Hesston | Corn | Freeman | Rosthern | Hillsboro | Oklahoma | M. C. I. | Beatrice | Totals |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Kansas | 3 | | 1 | 101 | | 71 | 1 | 1 | | 26 | | | | 204 |
| Ohio | 66 | 11 | 73 | 1 | 5 | 1 | | | | | | | | 157 |
| Oklahoma | | | | 11 | | 2 | 76 | | | 1 | 25 | | | 115 |
| Pennsylvania | 22 | 73 | 17 | | | 2 | | | | | | | | 114 |
| Ontario | 3 | | | | 94 | | | | 1 | | | 1 | | 99 |
| Indiana | 66 | | 18 | | 1 | | | | | | | | | 85 |
| South Dakota | | | 1 | 2 | | | | 58 | | | | | | 61 |
| Virginia | 1 | 58 | | | | | | | | | | | | 59 |
| Saskatchewan | | | | | | | | | 56 | | | | | 56 |
| Illinois | 23 | | 10 | | | 1 | | | | | | | | 34 |
| Nebraska | | | 2 | 2 | | 11 | | | | | | | 12 | 27 |
| Manitoba | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | 18 | | 19 |
| Iowa | 10 | | 4 | | | 3 | | | | | | | | 17 |
| Maryland | 2 | 4 | | | 6 | | | | | | | | | 12 |
| Michigan | 3 | 1 | | | 7 | | | | | | | | | 11 |
| Missouri | 3 | | | | | 6 | | | | | | | | 9 |
| Colorado | 4 | 1 | | | 1 | 3 | | | | | | | | 9 |
| Texas | | | | 1 | | | 6 | | | | 1 | | | 8 |
| India | 4 | | | 4 | | | | | | | | | | 8 |
| Oregon | | | | | | 6 | | | | | | | | 6 |
| New York | | 3 | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | 4 |
| Alberta | 1 | 1 | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | 3 |
| California | | | 2 | | | | | | | | 1 | | | 3 |
| Argentina | 3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | 3 |
| Minnesota | | | | 1 | | 1 | | | | | | | | 2 |
| Delaware | | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | 2 |
| West Virginia | | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | 2 |
| Montana | | | | | | 2 | | | | | | | | 2 |
| North Dakota | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Germany | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Washington | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Tennessee | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Totals | 215 | 157 | 128 | 125 | 115 | 111 | 83 | 59 | 57 | 27 | 27 | 19 | 12 | 1135 |

Table VII

. States, Provinces, and Countries from which Non-Mennonite Students Come, Mennonite Schools and Colleges, 1932-33

| States | Bluffton | Bethel | Goshen | E. M. S. | Hesston | Freeman | Rosthern | M. C. I. | Ontario | Oklahoma | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ohio | 184 | | 1 | | | | | | | | 185 |
| Statistics not given | | 73 | | 70 | | | | | | | 143 |
| Indiana | 1 | | 91 | | | | | | | | 92 |
| Kansas | | 73 | | | 12 | | | | | | 85 |
| South Dakota | | | | | | 7 | | | | | 7 |
| Saskatchewan | | | | | | | 5 | | | | 5 |
| Manitoba | | | | | | | | 3 | | | 3 |
| Illinois | 2 | | 1 | | | | | | | | 3 |
| Michigan | 2 | | 1 | | | | | | | | 3 |
| Pennsylvania | 2 | | | | | | | | | | 2 |
| Virginia | | | | 2 | | | | | | | 2 |
| Colorado | | 1 | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Cuba | 1 | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| New York | 1 | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Missouri | | 1 | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Ontario | | | | | | | | | 1 | | 1 |
| Maryland | | | | 1 | | | | | | | 1 |
| Oklahoma | | | | | | | | | | 1 | 1 |
| West Virginia | | | | 1 | | | | | | | 1 |
| Totals | 193 | 148 | 94 | 74 | 12 | 7 | 5 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 538 |

Table VIII

Mennonite Students of College Grade, Mennonite Schools and Colleges, 1932-33

| School | Men | Women | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Goshen | 86 | 94 | 180 |
| Bethel | 56 | 69 | 125 |
| Bluffton | 60 | 57 | 117 |
| E. M. S. | 16 | 22 | 38 |
| Freeman | 16 | 16 | 32 |
| M. C. I. | 13 | 3 | 16 |
| Hesston | 3 | 3 | 6 |
| Totals | 250 | 264 | 514 |

## Table IX

MENNONITE STUDENTS NOT OF COLLEGE GRADE, MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, 1932-33

| School | Men | Women | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| E. M. S. | 50 | 69 | 119 |
| Ontario | 53 | 62 | 115 |
| Hesston | 47 | 58 | 105 |
| Corn | 30 | 53 | 83 |
| German-Eng. Acad. | 34 | 23 | 57 |
| Goshen | 12 | 23 | 35 |
| Freeman | 10 | 17 | 27 |
| Hillsboro | 13 | 14 | 27 |
| Oklahoma | 16 | 11 | 27 |
| Beatrice | 6 | 6 | 12 |
| Bluffton | 3 | 8 | 11 |
| M. C. I. | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| Totals | 276 | 346 | 621 |

## Table X

SUMMER SESSION, MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, 1932

| School | Men | Women | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Goshen | 39 | 50 | 89 |
| Bluffton | 43 | 40 | 83 |
| Bethel | 27 | 47 | 74 |
| E. M. S. | 7 | 4 | 11 |
| Totals | 116 | 141 | 257 |

Table XI

ATTENDANCE, MEN AND WOMEN, MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, 1932-33

| School | Men | Women | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bluffton | 156 | 165 | 321 |
| Goshen | 146 | 163 | 309 |
| Bethel | 117 | 156 | 273 |
| Eastern Mennonite School | 92 | 139 | 231 |
| Hesston College and Bible School | 56 | 67 | 123 |
| Ontario Mennonite Bible School | 54 | 62 | 116 |
| Corn Bible School and Academy | 30 | 53 | 83 |
| Freeman Junior College | 28 | 38 | 66 |
| German-English Academy (Rosthern) | 37 | 25 | 62 |
| Oklahoma Bible Academy | 17 | 11 | 28 |
| Hillsboro Bible Academy | 13 | 14 | 27 |
| Mennonite Collegiate Institute | 17 | 5 | 22 |
| Beatrice | 6 | 6 | 12 |
| Totals | 769 | 904 | 1673 |

Table XII

DIPLOMAS GIVEN AND DEGREES GRANTED, MENNONITE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, 1932

| | Bluffton | Goshen | Bethel | Freeman | E. M. S. | Rosthern | Hesston | Corn | Ontario | Hillsboro | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| B. A. | 45 | 21 | 15 | | | | | | | | 81 |
| B. S. | | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | 2 |
| B. S. in Education | | 11 | | | | | | | | | 11 |
| B. of Sch. Music | 2 | | 1 | | | | | | | | 3 |
| D. D. | 1 | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Academy | | 11 | | 9 | 30 | 12 | 10 | 11 | | | 83 |
| Bible | | | | | 4 | | 4 | | 13 | | 21 |
| 2-yr. Normal | | 2 | | 9 | 9 | | | | | | 20 |
| Junior College | | | | 4 | 8 | | 5 | | | | 17 |
| Music | | 1 | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| 1-yr. Normal | | | | 14 | | | | | | | 14 |
| 2-yr. Bible and Acad. | | | | | | | | | | 11 | 11 |
| Totals | 48 | 47 | 17 | 36 | 51 | 12 | 19 | 11 | 13 | 11 | 265 |

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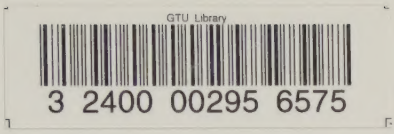


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